

Paronomasia or Wordplay? A Babel-Like Confusion Towards A Definition of Hebrew Wordplay ¹

By creating a play between the sound and the meaning of words, the language within Hebrew wordplay is often ambiguous. This intrinsic ambiguity is sometimes a real obstacle when attempting to grasp the Hebrew wordplay and fully understand the literary context of the Biblical passage in which the wordplay is used. Not recognizing the presence of the wordplay has often led to its minimization as a “strange” or “much discussed” word combination. Nevertheless, it is exactly this linguistic ambiguity that creates the possibility of an enriched exegesis of the Hebrew text. Many scholars discuss this enriching quality of wordplay in either a particular Bible book or a specific passage, but — with the exception of some surveys and poetic manuals — very little systematic research has used wordplay in the Hebrew Bible as a point of departure ². The work of I.M. Casanowicz, which dates from 1894, seems to be the last systematic survey of Hebrew wordplay ³. More recently, only the dissertation of R.T. Cherry (1988) can be mentioned as an attempt to bring some unity to the diverse opinions that characterize the many minor studies on Hebrew wordplay ⁴.

This contribution aims to clarify what exactly is meant when one names certain Hebrew constructions “wordplay”. Moreover, a defi-

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² Cf. e.g. the surveys of L. ALONSO SCHÖKEL, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (SubBi 11; Rome 1988) 20-33 and W.G.E. WATSON, *Classical Hebrew Poetry. A Guide to Its Techniques* (JSOT SS 26; Sheffield ²1995) 237-250.

³ I.M. CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* (Ph.D. Dissertation Johns Hopkins University; Boston, MA 1894). Cf. his earlier published article “Paronomasia in the Old Testament”, *JBL* 12 (1893) 105-167.

⁴ R.T. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament. Rhetorical Function and Literary Effect* (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Louisville, KY 1988).

inition of Hebrew wordplay is most necessary, as there are as many definitions and terminological concepts being used to refer to the phenomenon as there are minor studies on wordplay in a particular Bible passage. The definition of so-called *paronomasia* in particular is highly debated in relation to the term “wordplay”. After a survey of the current opinions in defining the concepts of “paronomasia” and “wordplay” (I), we aim at proposing our own definition of the concept of “Hebrew wordplay” (II). Thereafter, this description will simultaneously delimitate the field of Hebrew wordplay as it excludes a few linguistic figures that are classified as wordplay in other studies (III).

I. A Terminological Confusion

Casanowicz’s study on wordplay in the Old Testament was innovative in its time and has certainly served as an inspiration for many Biblical scholars. However, by entitling his study *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, his work has also led to much confusion. In order to illustrate this terminological chaos, we give a short survey of the way in which classical rhetoricians, Casanowicz himself, and more recent Old Testament scholars who based their observations regarding wordplay mostly on Casanowicz’s work have dealt with and defined the concepts of “paronomasia” and “wordplay”.

1. The “Classical” Definition of Paronomasia and the Terminology of Casanowicz

According to Casanowicz’s survey, the term *paronomasia* is initially found in Greek-Latin rhetorical literature, where the concept is catalogued as one of the so-called “figures of words” (σχήματα τῆς λέξεως or *figurae verborum*)⁵. In his *Symposium*, Plato (428/427–347 B.C.E.) refers by means of the vague term ἴσα to instances based

⁵ Cf. CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 1-4. The great attention to figures of sound in classical literature (just as it is the case for Biblical literature) can be understood against the background of complex transmission processes. As the written fixation of texts was preceded by an oral tradition, it is very plausible that authors/redactors paid much attention to similar sound patterns in order to facilitate the comprehension and memorization of texts.

on sound similarity ⁶. More specific concepts, such as παρίσῳσις and πάρισον, παρομοίωσις, ὁμοιοτέλευτον are first encountered in Aristotle's (384–322 B.C.E.) *Rhetorica* ⁷. However, according to Casanowicz, it is rather the post-Aristotelian terminology παρήχησις and especially παρονομασία (referred to as *adnominatio* or *annominatio* by Roman rhetors such as Cicero) that seem to have had the most impact in classical literature ⁸. As becomes clear from looking at the definitions of the concept of paronomasia by some rhetors, the term paronomasia is generally used to refer to “the proximity of two words varying only slightly in form, and having a different meaning” ⁹. Casanowicz, for example, mentions the Roman rhetor Cornificius who considered the combination *lenones* (“panders; seducers”) — *leones* (“lions”) to be an illustration of paronomasia ¹⁰. Indeed, both words have a different meaning, although they vary only slightly in form: the word *lenones* has an extra “n” with regard to the noun *leones*. It is precisely this classical terminology of paronomasia that Casanowicz himself uses to characterize wordplay in Old Testament passages ¹¹. However, this use of the concept paronomasia to refer to Hebrew wordplay is problematic in a two-fold way in our opinion.

First, although we can agree with Casanowicz when he states that the most common definition of paronomasia in classical rhetoric is related to the proximity of two words that share a similar sound pattern but have a different meaning, we should not overlook the diver-

⁶ Cf. PLATO, *Lysis. Symposium. Gorgias*. With an English Translation by W.R.M. Lamb (LCL 166; Cambridge, MA 2001).

⁷ Cf. ARISTOTELES, *Problems. Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. With an English Translation by W.S. Hett (LCL 317; Cambridge, MA 1965).

⁸ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 1.

⁹ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 1-3. Casanowicz lists several classical authors, out of which for example the Greek rhetor Alexander Numenius (1st half of the 2nd century), the Roman rhetors Cicero (1st century B.C.) and Aquila Romanus (2nd half of the 3rd century) define paronomasia as the proximity of two words with a similar sound pattern, but a different meaning.

¹⁰ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 2-3.

¹¹ Casanowicz could have chosen to use the term of Jewish scholars to denote (certain types of) Hebrew wordplay, namely the construction לשון נופל על לשון (literally “language falling on top of language”). Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 4; E.L. GREENSTEIN, “Wordplay: Hebrew”, *ABD* 6 (1992) 968-971, 968. However, Casanowicz himself clearly opts for the “classical” term paronomasia.

sity of definitions of paronomasia already present in classical times. The summarized definitions of Quintus, Tiberius and Hermogenes of Tarsus, for example, are not in agreement with the aforementioned understanding of paronomasia¹². As can be concluded on the basis of the survey of Casanowicz himself, the Roman rhetor Quintus uses a broader definition of paronomasia in also accepting the repetition of the same word with a different meaning (or with the same meaning, but with an additional aspect) and the change of prepositions in compounds as examples of paronomasia. Another definition one finds in the descriptions of paronomasia is given by Tiberius and Hermogenes of Tarsus, who apply the concept of paronomasia to the use of the same word in its literal and metaphorical meanings.

Secondly, Casanowicz himself creates a terminological confusion by using two different definitions of paronomasia. In the beginning of his study, Casanowicz clearly writes that the concept of paronomasia in classical times is generally related to the specific combination of words that share a similar sound pattern but differ in meaning¹³. One reads the same description in the second part of his work, namely that the “charm and effect” of paronomasia lie in the union of similarity of sound with dissimilarity of sense¹⁴. However, these definitions do not correspond to the description he adopts elsewhere. Apart from the aforementioned instances, Casanowicz applies the term paronomasia to “a general denomination for the whole range of the figures of sound in the Old Testament”, and therefore to wordplay as well as alliteration, assonance, and other forms of rhyme¹⁵. Thus, Casanowicz eventually uses an extended definition of paronomasia when referring to figures of sound *tout court* and no longer pays attention to the rather “strict” description of paronomasia, which — according to his own writings — was used most often in classical rhetoric.

¹² CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 2-3.

¹³ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 2.

¹⁴ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 26.

¹⁵ Cf. CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 4. This definition is also prominent in Casanowicz’s classification of different types of paronomasia, where he differentiates between alliteration, assonance, other forms of rhyme and wordplay. CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 30-40.

Casanowicz probably had the best possible intentions in bringing some unity to several definitions and concepts. However, one can at least say that he nevertheless simultaneously created a terminological confusion between the general Greek-Latin umbrella term σχήματα τῆς λέξεως (*figurae verborum*) and the yet more specifically defined concept of paronomasia in ancient rhetoric. Casanowicz confuses two definitions of paronomasia, and in doing so, he uses the concept as a general denomination for not only wordplay, but also alliteration, assonance and other kinds of rhyme.

2. Casanowicz and Later Old Testament Studies on Wordplay

The major impact of Casanowicz' work on Old Testament studies becomes immediately clear when looking at some titles that scholars use to characterize their research on (certain types of) Hebrew wordplay, and from the fact that scholars often explicitly refer to his study¹⁶. While Casanowicz is still somewhat ambiguous in defining the concept of paronomasia, later Old Testament studies on wordplay unmistakably identify Casanowicz's concept of paronomasia with wordplay *tout court*. Again, such identification creates a number of problems in our view.

First, the unambiguous identification of the terms paronomasia and wordplay is not completely in line with Casanowicz, whose conception of paronomasia is not only related to wordplay, but refers

¹⁶ Casanowicz's title *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* has clearly influenced the following works: B.J. BEITZEL, "Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name: A Case of Biblical Paronomasia", *TJ* 1 (1980) 5-20; CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 1988; D.L. CHRISTENSEN, "Anticipatory Paronomasia in Jonah 3:7-8 and Genesis 37:2", *RB* 90 (1983) 261-263; J.J. GLÜCK, "Paronomasia in Biblical Literature", *Sem* 1 (1970) 50-78; A. GUILLAUME, "Paronomasia in the Old Testament", *JSS* 9 (1964) 282-296; B. HALPERN – R.E. FRIEDMAN, "Composition and Paronomasia in the Book of Jonah", *HAR* 4 (1980) 79-92; I. KALIMI, "Paronomasia in the Book of Chronicles", *JSOT* 67 (1995) 27-41; I. KALIMI, "Paronomasie im Buch der Chronik: Ein Beitrag zur literarischen Forschung an der Arbeitsweise des Chronisten", *BZ* 41 (1997) 78-88; D. MARCUS, "Recovering an Ancient Paronomasia in Zechariah 14,5", *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of H.B. Huffmon* (eds. J. KALTNER – L. STULMAN) (*JSOT* SS 378; London 2004) 130-143; S. SEGERT, "Paronomasia in the Samson Narrative in Judges XIII-XVI", *VT* 34 (1984) 454-461.

also to alliteration, assonance and other kinds of rhyme. Nevertheless, in later Old Testament studies, one sees that “wordplay” becomes a synonym for “the extended type” of paronomasia as defined by Casanowicz. “Wordplay” therefore becomes an umbrella term not only for different types of wordplay, but equally for all kinds of figures of sound, because the extended definition of paronomasia by Casanowicz included both wordplay as well as other types of figures of sound. The content of Casanowicz’s concept of paronomasia is thereby transferred to the term wordplay. However, this extended definition of paronomasia no longer has anything to do with the most common “classical” definition of paronomasia in ancient rhetoric. Moreover, the description of wordplay in later Old Testament studies has become too extended if we compare it in terms of what Casanowicz calls “wordplay”. Indeed, according to Casanowicz, wordplay is ultimately only one particular type of paronomasia.

Besides the problems with regard to the identification of paronomasia and wordplay, the types of sound patterns that Old Testament scholars categorize under the synonymous concepts wordplay/paronomasia are often very diverse. In this respect, Cherry’s dissertation should be mentioned. Although he is fully aware of the various definitions of and terms for Hebrew wordplay, his own definition of wordplay/paronomasia has — on the one side — no longer anything to do with the proximity of two words that vary only slightly in form but have a different meaning, and — on the other — is still more complex and extended than Casanowicz’s concept of paronomasia. According to Cherry, paronomasia/wordplay can be defined as “the deliberate use of a word or combination of words as a rhetorical device designed to create within the hearer (or reader) feelings of ambiguity and curiosity. This use is primarily based upon resemblances of sound, but may also include willful exploitation of the meaning or written appearance of these expressions”¹⁷. Like many others, Cherry incorrectly identifies Casanowicz’s term paronomasia with wordplay so that all figures of sound alike become examples of wordplay. More-

¹⁷ Correctly, Cherry himself writes: “This definition expands paronomasia to its broadest sense, thus allowing for the inclusion of rhetorical techniques not exclusively dependent upon audible relationships”. Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 6.

over, Cherry extends his definition of paronomasia even further by including not only all types of figures of sound (cf. Casanowicz) but also the so-called “visual paronomasia”¹⁸. Cherry defines “visual paronomasia” as a figure of word that is completely dependent on its written form to express ambiguity. Since these visual examples of paronomasia are usually presented as a kind of code that has to be deciphered, Cherry relates this type of paronomasia to small circles of esoteric intellectuals and scribes. By extending the definition of paronomasia, Casanowicz’s paronomasia would merely represent one specific type of wordplay/paronomasia in Cherry’s classification, i.e. those cases of paronomasia that are characterized by similar sound patterns (“oral paronomasia”)¹⁹.

Against this background, it may be illustrated that the obscurity in terminology and the shifts in the content of concepts related to wordplay created a real “Babel-like confusion”. In our opinion, if one still wants to use the term paronomasia in the context of research in Hebrew wordplay, one has to state that paronomasia (in the strict definition that seems to be the most current in classical rhetoric) is only one specific type of wordplay. Instead of considering “wordplay” and “paronomasia” to be synonymous concepts, one needs to acknowledge that “the proximity of two words with a different meaning but a similar sound pattern” is merely one particular way of expressing a play between sound and meaning of words. This observation will be the point of departure for our own definition of Hebrew wordplay and the use of the concept of paronomasia.

By way of clarification and illustration, the following table summarizes the different positions of Casanowicz, Cherry and our own:

¹⁸ Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 18. Several examples of visual paronomasia will be given in the third section “Implications of the definition”.

¹⁹ Because of these “sound-based” characteristics, Cherry calls them “oral paronomasia”. Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 17.

	Casanowicz	Cherry	V.K.
paronomasia	umbrella term for all kinds of figures of sound (alliteration, assonance, other kinds of rhyme, wordplay)	umbrella term for: “visual paronomasia” “oral paronomasia” (= Casanowicz’s understanding of paronomasia) “sense paronomasia” ²⁰	one particular way to constitute a Hebrew wordplay: a combination of words sharing a similar sound, but having a different meaning (cf. the most common classical definition)
wordplay	one specific type of paronomasia: i.e. a sense-paronomasia which consists of similar-sounding words also incorporating a play on meaning	synonym for Cherry’s use of the concept paronomasia	umbrella term for a (combination of) word(s) that play(s) on both sound and meaning

II. Towards A Definition

Against the backdrop of the above remarks about the terminological confusion that is present in studies on wordplay since (and also before) Casanowicz, we now aim at proposing our own encompassing definition of Hebrew wordplay. Two elements seem to be especially important when speaking about Hebrew wordplay. Constitutive for Hebrew wordplay is its ambiguous nature within a specific literary context (1). This ambiguity is created by means of a play between both the sound and the meaning of words (2), which is moreover characteristic of the Hebrew language.

²⁰ According to Cherry, “sense paronomasia” is a particular type of paronomasia that creates ambiguity on the basis of lexical choices. The sound of words does not play any role in this type. Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 20-34. It has to be remarked that Casanowicz uses the term “sense-paronomasia” in a different way, i.e. as referring to a play on both the sound (already implicated in his use of the term “paronomasia”) and meaning (“sense”).

1. *Ambiguity*

In order to overcome the illustrated terminological chaos, we will not use the concept paronomasia as an umbrella term for all types of wordplay. Instead, the term wordplay seems to be more appropriate as a general denomination for different types of wordplay in the Hebrew Bible. However, it has to be noted that not all scholars accept the term wordplay. Some are of the opinion that the term “wordplay” sounds as if it would only refer to some kind of “play” without fulfilling any “serious” function. Therefore, some scholars prefer the term “pun”²¹. It can indeed be confirmed that scholars sometimes cannot validate wordplay and consider it only to be a “misuse” of language for comic purposes²². However, this kind of attitude disregards the subtle play between sound and meaning in a specific literary context that constitutes wordplay in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, it wrongly associates each form of ambiguity with comic scenes. As seen in classical times, wordplay was not only present in comedy, but also constitutive of, for example, the genre of tragedy. An allusion to the signification of proper nouns in solemn and pathetic passages often highlighted the personality and destiny of the main characters²³.

This broad sense of ambiguity is even truer for texts in the Hebrew Bible²⁴. While the opinions on and the classifications of different types of wordplay are very diverse, most scholars agree in stating that a cer-

²¹ Cf., for example, S. SCHORCH, “Between Science and Magic: The Function and Roots of Paronomasia in the Prophetic Books of the Hebrew Bible”, *Puns and Pundits. Wordplay in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature* (ed. S.B. NOEGEL) (Bethesda, MD 2000) 206; S.B. NOEGEL, “‘Word play’ in Qoheleth”, *JHS* 7 (2007) 2-28, 3-4. However, other scholars argue the opposite, in saying that precisely the term “punning” invalidates the phenomenon of wordplay. Cf. GLÜCK, *Paronomasia in Biblical Literature*, 52.

²² Cf. the words of L. Peeters in response to the definition of E. Littré (E. LITTRÉ – A. BEAUJEUAN, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* [Paris 171932]) in L. PEETERS, « Pour une interprétation du jeu de mots », *Sem* 2 (1971-1972) 127-142, 127.

²³ Cf., for example, CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 19; E.S. MCCARTNEY, “Puns and Plays on Proper Names”, *CJ* 14 (1919) 343-358, 356.

²⁴ The kind of ambiguity which is constitutive of Hebrew wordplay fits within the classification of seven types of ambiguity in overall literature, presented by W. EMPSON, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (London 51973). However, within scholarly attention to ambiguity in Biblical literature, this ambiguity is rather referred to by the concept of “double entendre”. See e.g. J.J.M. ROBERTS, “Double Entendre in First Isaiah,” *CBQ* 54 (1992) 39-48.

tain ambiguity is characteristic for all types of wordplay²⁵. By means of the ambiguity which is created by certain word combinations, Hebrew authors/redactors have tried to focus the hearer's/reader's attention on a particular passage. However, this stirring up of curiosity is never the only purpose. The ambiguity has to point to the deeper meanings and connections between combined words in relation to their literary context. Wordplay is therefore certainly not a construction that wants to set its own ambiguity in the spotlight by creating a certain "witticism". The ambiguity is rather in service of the central message of the concrete text²⁶. This creation of ambiguity is moreover not bound to any particular genre, but is present in the Pentateuch and Historical Books as well as in Poetic and Prophetic Literature.

A beautiful example of how wordplay enhances the central message of a concrete passage can be found in Judges 3,12-30²⁷. The story of Eglon and Ehud appears in a context with deuteronomistic characteristics. Because of the people's idolatrous behavior, YHWH permits Eglon, king of Moab, to take power over Israel. However, after Israel's repentance, YHWH is prepared to forgive his people. In order to save his people from Moab's suppression, YHWH sends Ehud on a special mission. This mission is characterized as ambiguous from the start: whereas it looks like Ehud is on his way to Eglon with the purpose of paying tribute to the king, Ehud in reality intends to kill the king of Moab in order to save the Israelites. Several instances of wordplay strengthen this ambiguity. To give but one example, one could refer to verse 19, in which Ehud speaks to king Eglon in ambiguous words. Ehud says that he has a secret דבר for the king. Eglon probably interprets the sentence as "I have

²⁵ Cf., for example, GLÜCK, *Paronomasia in Biblical Literature*, 50; SASSON, *Wordplay in the Old Testament*, 968; CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 6; WATSON, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 237.

²⁶ Cf. BEITZEL, *Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name*, 6.

²⁷ Cf. H. AUSLOOS, "Judges 3:12-30. An Analysis of the Greek Rendering of Hebrew Wordplay", *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint* (eds. J. COOK – H.-J. STIPP) (VTS; Leiden 2012 [in press]). See also H. AUSLOOS – B. LEMMELIJN, "Characterizing the LXX Translation of Judges on the Basis of Content-Related Criteria. The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Absolute Hapax Legomena in Judg 3,12-30", *After Qumran. Old and New Editions of Biblical Texts. The Historical Books* (eds. H. AUSLOOS et al.) (BETL 246; Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2012 [in press]).

a secret word for you”, since he immediately calls for silence. However, the polysemous word דבר can also mean “thing”. The reader therefore suspects Ehud to have a secret weapon — which is already mentioned in verse 16 — for Eglon. Indeed, with this weapon Ehud will kill the king of Moab, and his action is interpreted as God sending a messenger to save the Israelites from Moabite suppression. Besides Judg 3,12-30, a clear example of wordplay which contributes to the exegesis of a story can be found in Genesis 5,29. Here it is said that Lamech named his son Noah, because “out of the ground that the LORD has cursed this one shall bring relief from our work and from the toil of our hands” (NRSV). The wordplay between the proper noun Noah (נח) and the verb נחם (“to comfort, to bring relief”) is obvious. Moreover, Noah’s characterization as comforter already foreshadows his future role in the story.

Thus, the “play” with different aspects of words often has serious purposes in mind — far more frequently than it does humorous ones²⁸. Beyond any doubt, the literary context in which the Hebrew wordplay manifests itself is very important in this respect. Moreover, this literary context is decisive in whether or not the ambiguity of word combinations comes to realization²⁹. Wordplay not only owes its existence to the literary context. Rather, the full meaning of a particular context can only be grasped when one succeeds in understanding the Hebrew wordplay. This makes clear that wordplay and its inherent ambiguity will always be intimately related to its immediate and/or broader literary context.

2. *A Play on both Sound and Meaning*

While almost every scholar explicitly states that ambiguity is an inherent characteristic of wordplay, the way in which this ambiguity takes form within a specific literary context is highly debated. In this contribution, wordplay is defined as a specific play and a reciprocal interaction between sound patterns brought up by the variation in morphological structures, on the one hand, and mean-

²⁸ GLÜCK, *Paronomasia in Biblical Literature*, 78. Cf. also ALONSO SCHÖKEL, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, 29.

²⁹ Cf. H. VAN GORP – D. DELABASTITA – R. GHESQUIÈRE, *Lexicon van literaire termen* (Mechelen⁸2007) 26.

ing — defined by the use of a word in a specific literary context — on the other. This definition is primarily based on two elements ³⁰.

First, Casanowicz makes a distinction between “sound-paronomasia” (alliteration, assonance and other kinds of rhyme) and “sense-paronomasia” ³¹. In calling wordplay a sense-paronomasia, Casanowicz means that wordplay is not merely constituted by a play in the sound pattern of words — this sound aspect is already present in his use of the term “paronomasia” as an umbrella term for all types of sound figures — but equally includes a play on the meaning (“sense”) of combined words. The difference between alliteration, assonance, and other forms of rhyme, on the one hand, and wordplay, on the other, therefore illuminates the lack of meaning-play in Casanowicz’s “sound-paronomasia”, while the interaction between both sound and meaning is undeniably present in wordplay.

In order to illustrate the difference between Casanowicz’s conception of “sound-paronomasia” and “sense-paronomasia”, one could refer to Isaiah 29,6 and 61,3. Isaiah 29,6 is a good example of “sound-paronomasia” ³². The word combination רעם ורעש (“thunder and earthquake”) alliterates in two consonants (ר and ע). However, there is no play on contrasted or antithetic meanings. This is different from Isaiah 61,3, in which one finds the words כִּיָּאֵר (“crown”) and אֶפְרַח (“ash”) closely related ³³. The sound similarity of this “sense-paronomasia” is constituted by means of the interchange of פ and א. Moreover, both words play on contrasted meanings within the literary context of Isaiah 61,3. The ash is associated with the past, a period of grief. The crown, however, is related to salvation in the present time, in which YHWH sends his spirit to Isaiah in order to proclaim the message of hope to the poor.

Secondly, the characterization of wordplay as an interplay between both sound and meaning makes clear why this definition is

³⁰ Moreover, the definition of wordplay as a “play” with the constitutive aspects of a “word”, i.e. sound and meaning, is quite logical.

³¹ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 12-13. Cf. W. BÜHLMANN – K. SCHERER, *Stilfiguren der Bibel*. Ein kleines Nachschlagewerk (BibB 10; Fribourg 1973) 21.

³² CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 32.

³³ J.L. KOOLE, *Isaiah*. Part III. Vol. 3. Isaiah Chapters 56–66 (HCOT; Leuven 1998) 276-277.

especially related to Hebrew language play ³⁴. In Hebrew, and especially in Hebrew poetry, form and content are so interrelated that the smallest change in the morphological structure of a word/phrase could result in a change of meaning. Thus, one could say that Hebrew wordplay reflects the principle of the Hebrew language on the micro level. Precisely as form and content strengthen each other to express the meaning of the text to the reader, wordplay can only fulfill its function within the literary context when there is an interaction between sound and meaning.

Wordplay is therefore centered on the two poles of “sound” and “meaning”, which in a specific combination with each other can lead to wordplay. Depending on the type of wordplay, one of the two poles will be highlighted more than the other. However, it is problematic to make a strict distinction between “sound-based” (paronomasia) and “sense-based” (polysemous) puns ³⁵. According to us, all kinds of wordplay are intrinsically characterized by an interplay of both sound and meaning. Whereas some wordplay is characterized by polysemous puns, other word combinations rather highlight the identity or similarity in sound patterns. Nevertheless, the polysemous nature of words would not lead towards wordplay if the use of the same words did not bring up a similar sound pattern. As an example of wordplay that is based on the polysemous character of words, one could refer to Psalm 74,19 ³⁶. The ambiguous meaning of the Hebrew noun חַיִּים is played on in this context, as it not only means “living one” or “animal”, but can equally denote “community”. However, the two occurrences of the noun חַיִּים in verse 19 would not create any ambiguity if the dissimilarity in meaning were not related to an identity of sound.

³⁴ As these characteristics are typical for Hebrew language, this definition is specifically related to Hebrew wordplay. In our opinion, the definition cannot be used uncritically to characterize wordplay in whatever language. This is in contrast with, for example, Noegel, who intends to write a monograph (“Word Play” in Ancient Near Eastern Texts) in which he wants to present a taxonomy that can be used to study wordplay in all kinds of languages (i.e. Biblical Hebrew, Akkadian, Egyptian, Ugaritic and Armenian). Cf. NOEGEL, “‘Word Play’ in Qoheleth”, 3.

³⁵ Cf. SCHORCH, *Between Science and Magic*, 207. See in this respect also Cherry, who differentiates between “oral paronomasia” and “sense paronomasia”. Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 20-34.

³⁶ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 34 and 56.

In a similar way, the similarity of sound patterns that is so characteristic of paronomasia (in our definition), would also not manifest itself as a play if there were no differences in meaning between the combined words. Thus, we hope it is clear that without the interaction between sound and meaning, there would not be any ambiguity and the wordplay would be absent.

III. Implications of the Proposed Definition

The definition of Hebrew wordplay as an ambiguous interaction between both sound and meaning in a specific literary context, as proposed above, has some implications. Since it is necessary to have a play on meaning as well as on sound patterns for a certain word combination to be called a “wordplay” according to our definition, figures of word that do not show enough interaction between sound and meaning will be ruled out in this contribution (1). Moreover, this encompassing definition of wordplay enables us to include not only wordplay on common nouns and verbs, but also the ambiguous play on proper nouns (2).

1. *Linguistic Figures that do not Play on both Sound and Meaning*

Studies on wordplay exhibit a great variety when discussing what kind of linguistic figures could be categorized under the general denomination of wordplay. According to our own definition of Hebrew wordplay, linguistic figures that lack sufficient interaction between both aspects of sound and meaning in the combined words cannot be called “wordplay”. In scholarly literature one can recognize at least two categories that cannot, in our opinion, be considered types of wordplay.

The first category consists of those combined words that play on identical or similar sound patterns without incorporating any difference in meaning. (1) *Geminatio*, *epizeuxis* and *epanalepsis*, terms that are used to refer to the literal repetition of a word or combined words, can be situated in this context³⁷. As an example of the repetition of a

³⁷ Cf. VAN GORP – DELABASTITA – GHESQUIÈRE, *Lexicon van literaire termen*, 145. Theoretically speaking, one uses the terms *iteratio* or *palilogia* to refer to the repetition of an independent word, whereas the concepts *repetitio*, *epanalepsis* or *epizeuxis* are used for the repetition of a word group. The

single word in the same sense, one could refer to Hosea 8,3 and 8,5³⁸. Both verses have the verb רָסַח (“to reject”). This repetition of the same word results in an identical sound pattern of both words, but is without any variation in meaning. Some scholars have, however, seen wordplay in such repetitions³⁹. (2) Some figures of word that share similar sound patterns but do not play on a difference in meaning are referred to as *figura etymologica*⁴⁰. Word combinations that reflect a *schema etymologicum* are in fact particular syntactical constructions consisting of cognate words. One could refer to Genesis 37,9, in which the construction חֲלֹמֵי חֶלֶם (literally “I have dreamt a dream”) appears. Since the verb חָלַם and the noun חֶלֶם are cognate, a similarity in sound is obvious; but again there is no variation in meaning. (3) Stylistic figures such as alliteration, assonance and other kinds of rhyme are also not to be catalogued as “wordplay” in our opinion — and this in contrast with Casanowicz⁴¹. This does not mean that the sound play apparent in some cases of wordplay could not be seen as alliterating or assonantal. However, such combined words should then also display a difference in meaning, and cannot be called wordplay solely on the basis of their alliterating or assonantal qualities. One finds an example in which assonance is actually combined with a dissimilarity of meaning in Proverbs 10,16⁴². Both the word פִּעֻלָּת (‘‘work, positive reward’’) as well as the noun תְּבוּאָה (‘‘produce, yield’’) are vocalized with *qibbus* or *sureq* on the one hand and *patah*

term *geminatio* can be used for both possibilities. In practice, however, all these concepts are very often mixed.

³⁸ R.B. CHISHOLM, ‘‘Wordplay in the Eighth-Century Prophets’’, *BSac* 144 (1987) 44-52, 45.

³⁹ Cf. for example CHISHOLM, ‘‘Wordplay in the Eighth-Century Prophets’’, 45-46; SCHORCH, *Between Science and Magic*, 208. *Contra* CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 26.

⁴⁰ BÜHLMANN – SCHERER, *Stilfiguren der Bibel*, 20-21. The idea that the grammatical concept of Hebrew paronomasia is related to or is even the same as the description attributed to the *figura etymologica* is confirmed in the grammars of W. GESENIUS – E. KAUTZSCH, *Hebraische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1896) 359; B.K. WALTKE – M. O’CONNOR, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN 1990) 584.

⁴¹ CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 3-4. Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 6; NOEGEL, ‘‘Word Play in Qoheleth’’, 4-16.

⁴² CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 55 and 64; WATSON, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 243.

on the other. Therefore, assonance is reflected between both words, but there is also a play on meaning since the life-giving “work” of the righteous is contrasted with the sin-related “yield” of those who have evil plans.

A second category of linguistic figures that cannot be seen as wordplay according to our proposed definition are those combinations that play on different meanings without sharing any identical or similar sound patterns. (1) The phenomenon of synonymous substitution is without a doubt ingenious from a literary perspective⁴³. In order to understand what exactly is meant by synonymous substitution, one could refer to the proper noun שטנה in Genesis 26,21. According to A. Strus, the Hebrew author tried to explain the name by using a semantic parallel between the noun שטנה (“accusation”) and the verb ריב (“to dispute”) in verse 21. The “meaning” of the name שטנה would therefore be explained by relating it to the somewhat synonymous verb ריב. However, as the use of synonyms only affects the aspect of meaning, whereas the sound of words does not play any role in this linguistic figure, synonymous substitution cannot be seen as a specific type of wordplay in our opinion. (2) *Succedaneous paronomasia* refers to the substitution of an unusual term where one would normally expect a more familiar term⁴⁴. In providing an example, Cherry mentions the proper noun Jesurun in Deuteronomy 32,15, which — according to him — “replaces” in this case the more common name Israel with the purpose of sarcasm. While one could say that there is some role for the meaning of words, sound patterns are, once again, not involved in the constitution of this particular linguistic figure. (3) In the same vein, the so-called “associative pun” can be mentioned. J.J. Glück argues that this figure of word is “characterized by a twist in the diction, a play on phrase-components, when the different words within a phrase are forced together to create an entirely new image, overshadowing the usual associations of the respective words of the phrase”⁴⁵. Glück refers to the phrase “their uncircumcised heart” (לִבְבָם הָעֵרֶל) in Leviticus 26,41, which should be interpreted metaphorically and not

⁴³ Cf. GREENSTEIN, “Wordplay. Hebrew”, 969-970; A. STRUS, *Nomen-Omen*. La stylistique sonore des noms propres dans le Pentateuque (AnBib 80; Rome 1978) 62-64.

⁴⁴ CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 31-32.

⁴⁵ GLÜCK, *Paronomasia in Biblical Literature*, 72-75.

literally. Thus, it seems to be some kind of metaphorical speech rather than wordplay. (4) The several instances of what one calls visual wordplay/*paronomasia* should be mentioned here too ⁴⁶. As already stated, these figures are exclusively dependent on the written word to create ambiguity ⁴⁷. One can differentiate between the *gematria*, *atbash*, *not(e)rikon* and the alphabetic *acrosticon* in this context ⁴⁸.

– According to the principle of a *gematria*, each Hebrew consonant is related to a certain number. Numbers can therefore be symbolically interpreted as referring to words or proper nouns. Some have, for example, seen a *gematria* in Numbers 1,46 and more specifically in the number 603,550, the number of people delivered from Egypt ⁴⁹. 603,550 would be a *gematria* for *bene yisra'el kol ros*, “the children of Israel, every individual”. Words can also bear a sort of hidden meaning that can only be “deciphered” when one relates the consonants to their equivalent numbers ⁵⁰. For example, some scholars consider the proper noun Gad to be a *gematria* for the number seven ⁵¹. Attributing the seventh place to Gad in the list of tribes in Genesis 46 and Gad becoming the father of seven sons would therefore not be a coincidence.

– The *atbash* is based on the idea that the last character of the alphabet is replaced with the first character, the second to last character is replaced by the second character, and so on ⁵². Cherry

⁴⁶ Cf. SASSON, *Wordplay in the Old Testament*, 968-969; BEITZEL, *Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name*, 6-8; CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 18-20.

⁴⁷ Cf. CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 18.

⁴⁸ Cf. BEITZEL, *Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name*, 6-7; SASSON, *Wordplay in the Old Testament*, 969; CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 18-19.

⁴⁹ BEITZEL, *Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name*, 6-7.

⁵⁰ However, Beitzel, Sasson and Cherry agree that the “decoding” of such *gematria* is often the result of subjective interpretations of Bible interpreters rather than the intention of the Hebrew author/redactor.

⁵¹ SASSON, *Wordplay in the Old Testament*, 969.

⁵² For more information regarding this subject, see M. LEUCHTER, “Jeremiah’s 70-Year Prophecy and the ששך/לכ קמ” Atbash Codes”, *Bib* 85 (2004) 503-522; S.B. NOEGEL, “Atbash in Jeremiah and Its Literary Significance: Part 1”, *JBQ* 24 (1996) 82-89; “Part 2”, *JBQ* 24 (1996) 160-166; “Part 3”, *JBQ* 24 (1996) 247-250; R.C. STEINER, “The Two Sons of Neriah and the Two Editions of Jeremiah in Light of the Two Atbash Code-Words for Babylon”, *VT* 46 (1996) 83-84.

identifies this figure for example in Jeremiah 25,26, in which the proper noun בָּבֶל is used as a well-known cipher for Babel ⁵³.

– *Not(e)rikon* is described as a technique in which the characters of a word are in fact the beginning consonants of a certain chain of words. In this context, Cherry refers again to a verse in the book of Jeremiah. The occurrence of אִי־יְהוּדָה in Jeremiah 3,19 would be a *no-terikon* for the phrase $\text{אִמֵּן יְהוּדָה כִּי}$ ⁵⁴.

– The alphabetical *acrosticon* is known as a poetic form in which the initial characters of successive lines of text represent the alphabet in the correct order. However, this figure seems only to be related to Cherry's definition if one accepts that the acrostic poem arouses curiosity and attention on the part of the readers ⁵⁵.

Since there is no play on sound patterns of the words involved in all these cases, such visual play cannot, in our opinion, be characterized as types of wordplay.

2. No Separate Definition of Hebrew Wordplay on Proper Nouns

In addition to the enumeration of a number of linguistic figures that are not characterized as wordplay in this contribution, the definition of Hebrew wordplay as an ambiguous play between both sound and meaning has a second implication. We believe that wordplay on proper nouns must not be treated differently from wordplay on common nouns, adjectives and verbs, as is often the case ⁵⁶.

⁵³ CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 45-46.

⁵⁴ CHERRY, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament*, 18.

⁵⁵ For more literature *in casu*, see: E. ASSIS, "The Alphabetic Acrostic in the Book of Lamentations", *CBQ* 69 (2007) 210-214; D.L. CHRISTENSEN, "The Acrostic of Nahum Once Again: A Prosodic Analysis of Nah 1,1-10", *ZAW* 99 (1987) 409-414; D.N. FREEDMAN, "Acrostic Poems in the Hebrew Bible: Alphabetic and Otherwise", *CBQ* 48 (1986) 408-431; B. LINDARS, "Is Psalm 2 an Acrostic Poem?", *VT* 17 (1967) 60-67; K. SPRONK, "Acrostics in the Book of Nahum", *ZAW* 110 (1998) 209-222; M. TREVERS, "Two Acrostic Poems", *VT* 15 (1965) 81-90.

⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. F. BÖHL, "Wortspiele im Alten Testament", *Opera Minora: Studia en bijdragen op Assyriologisch en oudtestamentisch terrein* (F. BÖHL; Groningen – Djakarta 1953) 11-25; BÜHLMANN – SCHERER, *Stilfiguren der Bibel*, 22; CASANOWICZ, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 36-40; S. GEVIRTZ, "Of Patriarchs and Puns: Joseph at the Fountain, Jacob at the Ford", *HUCA* 46 (1975) 33-54; GUILLAUME, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, 282-290; A.F. KEY, "The Giving of Proper Names in the Old Testament", *JBL* 83 (1964) 55-59; SCHÖKEL, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, 30; M. GARSIEL, *Biblical*

This specific option reflects a well-considered thesis, related to the definition of Hebrew wordplay suggested above. Being an ambiguous interplay between sound and meaning in a particular literary context, instances of wordplay should primarily be identified and evaluated on that particular basis, namely with regard to the way in which they create both a phonetic and lexical-semantic ambiguity in their specific literary context. However, in literature on wordplay on proper nouns, the criterion to classify such wordplay — in contrast to wordplay on common nouns, adjectives or verbs — is often the “explaining function” this type of wordplay fulfills without paying attention to the way in which the interaction between sound and meaning is equally constitutive in wordplay on proper nouns⁵⁷. To give an example, one could mention the play on the toponym Babel in Genesis 11,9. As the proper noun בבל and the verb בלל (“to confuse”) differ in only one consonant, the wordplay is constituted by means of sound similarity. Since Hebrew wordplay on proper nouns shows similar procedures in constituting the play between sound and meaning, as is the case with wordplay on nouns, adjectives or verbs, there is, from a linguistic perspective, no reason to classify wordplay on proper nouns according to a different pattern⁵⁸.

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Names. A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns (Ramat Gan 1991); STRUS, *Nomen-Omen*.

⁵⁷ Cf., for example, the “etiological” function of wordplay on proper names. See in this respect the studies of H. AUSLOOS, “LXX’s Rendering of Hebrew Proper Names and the Characterization of the Translation Technique of the Book of Judges”, *Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls*. FS Raija Sollamo (eds. A. VOITILA – J. JOKIRANTA) (SJSJ 126; Leiden 2008) 53-71; H. AUSLOOS, “The Septuagint’s Rendering of Hebrew Toponyms as an Indication of the Translation Technique of the Book of Numbers”, *Florilegium Complutense. Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls. Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera* (eds. A. PIQUER OTERO – P. TORIJANO MORALES) (SJSJ; Leiden [in press]). Cf. in the same vein equally H. AUSLOOS – B. LEMMELIJN – V. KABERGS, “The Study of Aetiological Wordplay as a Content-Related Criterion in the Characterization of LXX Translation Technique”, *Die Septuaginta. Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte* (eds. W. KRAUS – M. KARRER – M. MEISER) (WUNT; Tübingen [in press]).

⁵⁸ Attention to similar mechanisms in the constitution of wordplays on proper nouns as well as on common nouns, adjectives and verbs is also present in BEITZEL, *Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name*, 5-12; CHERRY, *Parono-*

The observations described above demonstrate that Hebrew wordplay is only one specific figure of word among all kinds of linguistic figures. It is therefore not strange that studies on wordplay are the victim of a real terminological confusion. However, precisely because of this reason, it is crucial to define the term carefully and to highlight its unique characteristics. We have clarified the concept of Hebrew wordplay as an ambiguous interplay between both the sound and meaning of words. We thereby hope to have limited the field of what is commonly called “wordplay” and to have set a basic definition for further research into Hebrew wordplay.

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SUMMARY

Against the general background of a terminological confusion that is present in contributions about Hebrew wordplay, the definition of the so-called paronomasia in relation to the term wordplay is especially debated. This article aims to clarify the concept of wordplay in the Hebrew Bible. After a survey of the current opinions in defining the terms “paronomasia” and “wordplay” (I), we propose our own definition of “Hebrew wordplay” (II). Thereafter, this description will simultaneously delimit the field of Hebrew wordplay as it excludes a few linguistic figures, although they are possibly classified as wordplay in other studies (III).

masia on Proper Names in the Old Testament, 45-113; GREENSTEIN, “Wordplay: Hebrew”, 968-970; SASSON, *Wordplay in the Old Testament*, 968-970; WATSON, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 244-245.

Biblical and Historical Jerusalem in the Tenth and Fifth-Fourth Centuries BCE

The urban character of Jerusalem in the tenth and fifth centuries BCE has been hotly debated among scholars since the early 1990s. The Temple Mount, the area where Solomon's major building operations took place according to biblical historiography, cannot be archaeologically examined. Hence, the most important area for investigation remains *terra incognita*. What was available for archaeological research is the area of the City of David located to its south and the agricultural periphery around the city. Unfortunately, the excavation of the City of David is replete with difficulties. In highland sites, the bedrock is high and late constructions and levelling might have removed the traces of the earlier buildings and scattered the artifacts. This is especially common in Jerusalem, which was built on terraces and settled for thousands of years, each new city resting its foundations on the bedrock and destroying part of what was left underneath. Archaeological research can identify the fragmented remains and establish their date and function. Yet often, the erosion and obliteration of much of the evidence by later operations, the fragmented state of the structures, and the dispersal of the artifacts hinder the reconstruction of the ancient reality ¹.

In light of these difficulties, no wonder that controversies exist among archaeologists on the interpretation of the fragmented data unearthed in the excavations. Some scholars claim that the results of the excavations support (at least partially) the biblical stories of David and Solomon ², whereas others dismiss them altogether and

¹ See N. NA'AMAN, "The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century B.C.E.," *BASOR* 304 (1996) 17-27; idem, "Does Archaeology Really Deserve the Status of a 'High Court' in Biblical Historical Research?," *Between Evidence and Ideology* (eds. B.E.J.H. BECKING – L.L. GRABBE) (OTS 59; Leiden 2010) 165-183.

² See recently: E. MAZAR, *Preliminary Report on the City of David Excavations 2005 at the Visitors Center Area* (Jerusalem 2007); idem, *The Palace of King David. Excavations at the Summit of the City of David, Preliminary Report of Seasons 2005-2007* (Jerusalem 2009); A. MAZAR, "Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E.: The Glass Half Full", *Essays on Ancient Israel in*

suggest that tenth-century Jerusalem was in fact a small marginal town³. As the fifth-fourth centuries BCE were also a period of great decline, there are similar disputes over the scope and population of the city rebuilt by the Returnees. Thus, for example, some scholars dismiss the historicity of the account of the wall built by Nehemiah and on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone assign it to the Hellenistic period⁴, whereas others suggest that enough fifth-fourth archaeological evidence exists to substantiate the biblical description⁵.

The date of the archaeological strata and the interpretation of the evidence unearthed in the excavations of the City of David are beyond the scope of this article. I focus instead on the way biblical authors described the building operations carried out in Jerusalem and the implications of these descriptions for the discussion of the history of the city. Texts and archaeology should be interpreted independently of each other and only then be compared. Although the biblical descriptions of Jerusalem have been discussed many times in the past, I believe that these discussions do not exhaust the potential value of the sources.

In what follows, I will first examine the biblical accounts of building projects carried out in Jerusalem in the time of David and Solomon and then analyze the construction accounts from the Persian period. Through this discussion, I will attempt to evaluate the

Its Near Eastern Context. A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman (eds. Y. AMIT – E. BEN ZVI – I. FINKELSTEIN – O. LIPSCHITS) (Winona Lake, IN 2006) 257-265; O. KEEL, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus* (Göttingen 2007) I, 122-125; A. FAUST, "The Large Stone Structure in the City of David: A Reexamination", *ZDPV* 126 (2010) 117-122.

³ M. STEINER, "The Evidence from Kenyon's Excavations in Jerusalem: A Response Essay", *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*. The First Temple Period (eds. A.G. VAUGHN – A.E. KILLEBREW) (Atlanta, GA 2003) 347-363; D. USSISHKIN, "Solomon's Jerusalem: The Text and the Facts on the Ground", *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 103-115; I. FINKELSTEIN – Z. HERZOG – L. SINGER-AVITZ – D. USSISHKIN, "Has King David's Palace Been Found", *Tel Aviv* 34 (2007) 142-164; I. FINKELSTEIN, "The 'Large Stone Structure' in Jerusalem: Reality versus Yearning", *ZDPV* 127 (2011) 1-11, with earlier literature.

⁴ I. FINKELSTEIN, "Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period and the Wall of Nehemiah", *JSOT* 32 (2008) 501-520; idem, "Persian Period Jerusalem and Yehud: A Rejoinder", *JHS* 9 (2009) Article 24.

⁵ O. LIPSCHITS, "Persian Period Finds from Jerusalem: Facts and Interpretations", *JHS* 9 (2009) Article 20; E. MAZAR, "The Wall that Nehemiah Built", *BAR* 35/2 (2009) 24-33, 66; idem, *Palace of King David*, 72-76.

biblical descriptions' potential for reconstructing the history of Jerusalem in the tenth and fifth-fourth centuries BCE.

I. Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy (David)

Before commencing the discussion, let me state my conviction that the late authors who described the building projects in Jerusalem had actually seen the walls and buildings whose construction they attributed to the early kings of Judah. Moreover, in view of the continuous settlement of Jerusalem from the tenth century BCE until the destruction of the First Temple, and after a short gap throughout the Persian and Hellenistic periods, local oral traditions might have passed verbally from generation to generation and reached the authors of the biblical narratives. Such local traditions might have been trustworthy or invented, but — unlike Greek historians — biblical authors did not investigate their sources and evaluate their historical reliability. Rather, they elaborated and expanded the oral traditions and incorporated them in their compositions. These potential local traditions must be taken into account when dealing with the sources written in Jerusalem during the First Temple and Persian periods.

According to the story cycle of David, following the conquest of the Jebusite stronghold of Zion, "David dwelt in the stronghold, and called it the City of David, and fortified 'the city' round about from the Millo inwards" (2 Sam 5,9). The MT reads "and David fortified (*wayyiben*) round about", so that the verb lacks an object. 4QSam^a and LXX^{AB} read *wayyibneh 'ir* and 1 Chr 11,8 reads *wayyiben hā 'ir*, and these versions should be preferred over the MT⁶.

The key for the correct translation of the verb *bnh* (usually "to build") is the adverb *sābīb* ("round about"). The verb's nuanced meaning of "fortify" appears in reference to the surrounding of cities by walls (1 Kgs 3,1; 2 Kgs 25,10; Jer 52,14; Ezek 4,2), and in descriptions of other building works (e.g., 1 Kgs 12,25; 15,17.22; 16,24; Isa 60,10; Ps 51,20; 2 Chr 11,5; 14,5; 32,5; 33,14)⁷. Thus, the "building" of the city "round about" clearly refers to its fortification.

⁶ F.M. CROSS – D.W. PARRY – R.J. SALEY – E. ULRICH, *Qumran Cave 4. XII: 1-2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford 2005) 121; see P.K. MCCARTER, *II Samuel* (AB 9; Garden City, NY 1984) 136.

⁷ F. GARCÍA LÓPEZ, "*sbb; sābīb; mūsab; mēsab; n°sibbā; sibā*", *TDOT* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge, UK 1999) X, 131; cf. *NJPS*, 477.

Since the building of the Millo was assigned to Solomon (1 Kgs 9,15.24; 11,29), David's fortification work was held "from the Millo inwards". The author of 2 Sam 5,9 deliberately emphasizes that David fortified the city up to the Millo, whereas the fortification of the latter was attributed to his heir.

The "City of David" referred to in 2 Sam 5,7.9 overlaps the area of the conquered Stronghold of Zion, and in this limited scope it appears in the cycle stories of David and Solomon and the burial of the Judahite kings prior to Hezekiah⁸. However, according to other biblical sources, the City of David encompasses a much larger area. Thus, according to Isa 22,9-11a, the "breaches/fissures (*b^eqī'īm*) of the City of David"⁹ were repaired by the gathering of the waters of the Lower Pool, the fortification of the city wall, and the making of a reservoir between the two walls. All scholars agree that the Lower Pool and the reservoir between the two walls were located at the southernmost end of the city¹⁰. Also, "the steps which go down from the City of David" (Neh 3,15; 12,37) are located at the southern edge of the city. It is thus evident that the toponym 'City of David' designated both the entire area of the Southeastern Hill and a limited part of it. The difference in scope is the result of the gradual growth of the city. Thus, a term that initially referred to the summit of the mound near the Stepped Stone Structure had extended southward and, in the late First Temple period, covered the Southeastern Hill up to its southernmost border. The ambiguity in connotation of the name must

⁸ N. NA'AMAN, "Death Formulae and the Burial Place of the Kings of the House of David", *Bib* 85 (2004) 245-254.

⁹ The term "breaches/fissures" refers to various kinds of rifts, both in city walls and in water installations, and not only to breaches within walls, which in Biblical Hebrew is called *bedeq*. Hence, the reference to breaches in v. 9a introduces the three repairment works mentioned in vv. 9b-11a. For discussion of the terminology in vv. 8-11 see J.A. EMERTON, "Notes on the Text and Translation of Isaiah XXII 8-11 and LXV 5", *VT* 30 (1980) 437-446, with earlier literature. However, his translation "pools of" for *b^eqī'ē* rests on the development in meaning of the noun in Late Biblical Hebrew and does not fit the context of the prophecy.

¹⁰ See for example: J. SIMONS, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* (Leiden 1952) 106-107, 127-128, 191-192; L.H. VINCENT, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament. Recherches d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris 1954-1956) I, 291-295; A. MAZAR, "Jerusalem's Water Supply in the First Temple Period", *The History of Jerusalem in the First Temple Period* (eds. S. AHITUV – A. MAZAR) (Jerusalem 2000) 224-228 (Hebrew).

be taken into account when discussing the biblical references to the City of David.

Following the construction of the wall, David built a residence (literally ‘house’) for himself (2 Sam 5,11). The story of the bringing of the Ark to the city (2 Sam 6,16) assumes the construction of a royal residence in the City of David and the king’s wife Michal’s residence in the building. The story of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam 11) presumes that a royal residence was constructed in a prominent place in the city — the same prominent place in which Absalom lay with his father’s concubines (2 Sam 16,22). Finally, the author of the account of Pharaoh’s daughter’s temporary residence in the City of David (1 Kgs 3,1) takes it for granted that a royal residence was formerly built in the city. All these authors visualized a palace that stood in the City of David and operated in the episodes they described.

The “house” constructed by David is mentioned once again in the Book of Nehemiah. After completing the repair of the city’s walls, Nehemiah organized a thanksgiving procession to dedicate them. The procession was split into two parts, one marching along the southern and eastern sides of the city and the other on its western and northern sides. The former passed the Dung Gate (Neh 12,31) and the Fountain Gate (v. 37a¹¹): “And straight ahead of them they went up the steps of the City of David, on the ascent to the wall, past the House of David, and up to the Water Gate on the east” (v. 37). According to the description, the House of David was located south of the Water Gate, that is, the gate through which the people of Jerusalem went down to the Spring of Gihon before the quarrying of Hezekiah Tunnel, which transferred the water to the Siloam Fountain (see Neh 3,26; 8,1.3.16) ¹¹. As the eastern wall constructed by Nehemiah passed through a new line near the eastern summit of the city ¹², the House of David must be sought near the Stepped Stone Structure built on the summit of the city’s northeastern slope.

¹¹ The descent from the City of David to the Spring of Gihon was recently unearthed; see R. REICH – E. SHUKRON, “A New Segment of the Middle Bronze Fortification in the City of David”, *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010) 141-153; idem, “The Middle Bronze Age II Water System in Jerusalem”, *Jérusalem antique et médiévale. Mélanges en l’honneur d’Ernest-Marie Laperrousaz* (eds. C. ARNOULD-BÉHAR – A. LEMAIRE) (Paris – Louvain – Walpole, MA 2011) 17-29.

¹² K.M. KENYON, *Digging up Jerusalem* (London 1974) 181-187; Y. SHILOH, *Excavations at the City of David I, 1978-1982. Interim Report of the First Five*

According to Neh 3,25, Palal, son of Uzai, repaired the wall from a point “opposite the buttress and the tower which projects from the Upper King’s House which was part of the Court of the Guard”. Note that the rebuilding project did not yet reach the Water Gate that led to the Gihon Spring (v. 26). The projecting tower mentioned in v. 25 must have been a very prominent edifice, as it appears in three consecutive sections of the repaired wall — all of them built “opposite” it (*minneged/’ad neged*) (vv. 25-27).

The Court of Guard that is located in the king’s house is mentioned once again in Jer 32,2b: “And Jeremiah the prophet was shut up in the Court of the Guard which was in the king of Judah’s house”. The court is frequently mentioned in the story cycle of Jeremiah (Jer 32,8.12; 33,1; 37,21; 38,6.13.28; 39,14.15)¹³.

Where was the king’s house and the Court of the Guard mentioned in Jer 32,2 and Neh 3,25? To date, scholars have identified them within the royal palace located at the Temple Mount, but they could not fit this location into the description of Nehemiah’s building project. According to the latter account, the “Upper King’s House” was located south of the gate that led to the Spring of Gihon. In this light, I suggest identifying it with the residence that David constructed according to 2 Sam 5,9, which is also mentioned along the route of Nehemiah’s thanksgiving procession (Neh 12,37). The residence should be sought in the crest of the City of David, near the Large Stone Structure unearthed by Eilat Mazar. Unlike the king’s palace on the Temple Mount, which was relatively isolated, the residence built in the City of David was situated within a densely inhabited quarter of the city and accessible to people living in its vicinity.

The location of the royal residence above the Stepped Stone Structure also explains the enigmatic text of 2 Kgs 12,21. The servants of Jehoash, King of Judah, conspired and killed him “in the House of Millo, which goes down to Silla”¹⁴. Millo is the biblical

Seasons (Qedem 19; Jerusalem 1984) 29; H.G.M. WILLIAMSON, “Nehemiah’s Walls Revisited”, *PEQ* 116 (1977) 82; idem, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco, TX 1985) 200, 208; J. BLENKINSOPP, *Ezra-Nehemiah. A Commentary* (OTL; London 1989) 231-232, 237; H. ESHEL, “Jerusalem under Persian Rule: The City’s Layout and the Historic Background”, *History of Jerusalem*, 339 (Hebrew).

¹³ For the Court of the Guard, see H. MADL, “*nāṭar, maṭṭārā*”, *TDOT* 9, 402-404, with earlier literature; G.A. HERION, “Guard, Court of the”, *ABD* 2 (New York 1992) 1099a.

¹⁴ For the toponym Silla, see O. THENIUS, *Die Bücher der Könige erklärt*

name of the Stepped Stone Structure (see below) and the House of Millo is a designation for the royal residence located on top of it. The name Silla was probably derived from the verb *sll* and refers to the new quarter located at the foot of the stone structure¹⁵. The account indicates that Jehoash was assassinated within the royal residence (compare 2 Sam 4,5.7; 1 Kgs 16,18). The Chronicler's alternative version, according to which Jehoash's servants "slew him on his bed" (2 Chr 24,25), indicates that he interpreted correctly the account of his source, the Book of Kings.

Finally, the bullae of Gedaliah son of Pashhur (*gdlyhw bn pšhw*) and Jehucal son of Shelemiah son of Shobai (*yhwkl bn šlmyhw bn šby*), two Judahite officials mentioned in Jer 37:3 and 38:1, have been discovered in the excavations near the Large Stone Structure, near the place where the two officials must have officiated.¹⁶

We may conclude that the residence built by David according to 2 Sam 5,9, which until now was ignored in all studies of First Temple Jerusalem, in fact played a central role in the economic and administrative life of the city during the First Temple period. Until the time of Jehoash (ca. 841-801), possibly later, the kings of Judah still dwelt in the place. It is even possible that the rich late-ninth-century BCE fill found in the rock-cut pool near the Spring of Gihon — which included inter alia ten seals and scarabs, around 180 broken clay bullae bearing seal impressions with different motifs, and large amount of fish bones — arrived from the area of the royal residence located above it¹⁷. No wonder that despite the Babylonian destruction, the location of the destroyed residence was still remembered in the Persian period by Jerusalem's inhabitants¹⁸.

(KEHAT; Leipzig 1873) 343; D.C. LIID, "Silla", *ABD* VI, 23b; R. ZADOK, "Notes on Syro-Palestinian History, Toponymy and Anthroponymy", *UF* 28 (1996) 733.

¹⁵ For the new quarter built east of the Stepped Stone Structure, see D.T. ARIEL – H. HIRSCHFELD – N. SAVIR, "Area D1: Stratigraphic Report", *Excavations at the City of David 1975-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*. V: Extramural Areas (ed. D.T. ARIEL) (Qedem 40; Jerusalem 2000) 42-59; R. REICH – E. SHUKRON, "The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.", *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 209-218.

¹⁶ E. MAZAR, *The Palace of King David*, 66-71.

¹⁷ R. REICH – E. SHUKRON – O. LERNAU, "Recent Discoveries in the City of David, Jerusalem", *IEJ* 47 (2007) 153-160.

¹⁸ WILLIAMSON, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 374.

The projecting tower that is mentioned three times in Nehemiah's rebuilding operation (3,25.26.27) may safely be identified with the Stepped Stone Structure, the most prominent structure in the City of David, constructed in order to support and fortify the royal residence built on top of it. This identification obviously clarifies the course of Nehemiah's building project on the eastern side of the city (as detailed below). The Large Stone Structure, which Eilat Mazar unearthed and identified as the residence of King David, is a suitable candidate for this building, or better, for its northeastern wing. A large amount of pottery from the Iron Age and Persian periods was unearthed in and near the edifice, indicating continuity of settlement in the area ¹⁹. Unfortunately, the erosion of the floors of the building and the deplorable state of its preservation prevents verifying her attractive suggestion of a tenth century date for its foundation ²⁰.

Some scholars recently suggested that throughout most periods in the second and first millennia BCE, the main built-up area of Jerusalem was limited to the mound on the Temple Mount, in an area that archaeologically cannot be examined. Only in the Iron IIB and late Hellenistic Periods, the fortified settlement expanded and included the City of David and the Southwestern Hill ²¹. This (in my opinion highly unlikely) suggestion deserves extensive discussion, but that is beyond the scope of this article. However, the stronghold of Zion held by the Jebusites before David's conquest and the royal residence built in the tenth century in the City of David were both located near the Stepped Stone Structure, hence far south of the area of the Temple Mount.

II. Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy (Salomon)

The history of Solomon includes a series of statements which, when combined together, point to a coherent and unified picture of the King's operations in Jerusalem. I will first put forward these statements and then analyze them in detail.

¹⁹ For the pottery unearthed in the excavations of the site, see E. MAZAR, *Preliminary Report*; idem, *The Palace of King David*; idem, "Wall", 24–33.

²⁰ For the debate on the date of the Large Stone Structure, see notes 2–3 above.

²¹ E.A. KNAUF, "Jerusalem in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages: A Proposal", *Tel Aviv* 27 (2000) 78–79 and n. 8; I. FINKELSTEIN – I. KOCH – O. LIPSCHITS, "The Mound on the Mount: A Possible Solution to the 'Problem with Jerusalem'", *JHS* 11 (2011) Article 12.

1 Kgs 9,15: "This is the account of the levy that King Solomon raised to build the House of YHWH, his house, the Millo, the wall of Jerusalem ...".

1 Kgs 3,1b: "He [Solomon] married Pharaoh's daughter and brought her into the City of David, until he had finished building his house and the House of YHWH and the wall of Jerusalem round about".

1 Kgs 9,24: "But the daughter of Pharaoh went up from the City of David to her house, which he had built for her. Then he built the Millo".

1 Kgs 8,1: "Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel ... to bring up the Ark of the covenant of YHWH from the city of David, that is, Zion".

1 Kgs 11,27b: "Solomon built the Millo (and) closed the breach of the City of David, his father".

The first reference summarizes the building operations of Solomon in Jerusalem and then enumerates other building projects he carried out throughout his kingdom. References (2) and (3) open and close a distinctive topic: the residence of Pharaoh's daughter in Jerusalem. The princess temporarily stayed in a residence in the fortified quarter of the City of David (2 Sam 5,9-10), until the completion of the construction operations in the Temple Mount and its fortification (reference 2). Only then did she move to the new palace (reference 3; 1 Kgs 7,8b), and the ark was transferred to the new temple (reference 4). The construction of the wall of Jerusalem (references 1-2) refers to the Temple Mount alone since the story of David indicates that he had already fortified the City of David. The construction of the Millo took place later (reference 3), and when completed, Solomon closed the breach that was left in the City of David (reference 5).

When searching for the Millo, the Stepped Stone Structure constructed in an elevated place in order to support the royal residence immediately comes to mind²². Scholars suggested identifying the Millo with either the terrace system built on the city's eastern flank or the fill that levels the area between the Temple Mount and the City of David²³. However, the fortified nature of the Millo is clearly

²² L.E. STAGER, "The Archaeology of the East Slope of Jerusalem and the Terraces of the Kidron", *JNES* 41 (1982) 112-113, 121; cf. R.C. STEINER, "New Light on the Biblical *Millo* from Hatran Inscriptions", *BASOR* 276 (1989) 15-23.

²³ See the literature cited by STAGER, "East Slope", 112 n. 8; KENYON, *Digging up Jerusalem*, 100-103; W.H. MARE, "Millo", *ABD* IV, 834b-835a.

stated in the text of 2 Chr 32,5, which relates that in the course of his preparations for the impending Assyrian attack, Hezekiah “strengthened the Millo in the City of David”. Hence, the Millo’s identification with the Stepped Stone Structure rests on solid ground. Its construction required a lot of menial work, including the carrying of earth and stones, the filling of the steep slope with earth and the covering of its surface by stones. The hard work involved with the construction fits the biblical account of the “corvée (*sēbel*) of the House of Joseph”, mobilized to perform hard work and suffering to the extent of being pushed to rebellion (1 Kgs 11,27-28.40). After the work on the structure was completed, it effectively defended the northeastern side of the City of David, where the early royal residence was built.

It is thus clear that the authors of the histories of David and Solomon depicted a clear and coherent picture. First, David fortified the area located around the conquered Stronghold of Zion, except for a break left in its northeastern side. Next, Solomon surrounded the Temple Mount by a wall and built the temple and palace. Finally, Solomon constructed the Millo as massive support for the royal residence located just above it, thereby closing the northeastern breach in the fortification. The gap in space between the two quarters is tacitly ignored in the histories of David and Solomon.

III. Discussion

The details of David’s and Solomon’s building operations in Jerusalem reflect what the late authors observed at the time of writing. They presented the Temple Mount and the City of David (in its limited scope) as two enclosed quarters, each surrounded by a separate set of fortification. The short account of the building of a royal residence on the summit of the Southeastern Hill is thematically connected to two other accounts: the fortification of the City of David and the construction of the Millo. The author of the David story cycle was aware of the location of David’s residence and described the quarter around it as the focus of the king’s building operations. Detailed descriptions of the construction operations on the Temple Mount appear in the history of Solomon and reflect the reality of the time of the late author. Significantly, the histories of

David and Solomon are silent about the space between the two fortified quarters, a silence indicating that at the time of writing it was not yet considered a closed and well-defined quarter ²⁴.

Archaeologists observed that in the Iron I-early IIa only the summit of the City of David was inhabited and fortified by the Stepped Stone Structure. According to the “modified conventional chronology” (which I support), the construction of this massive structure and the Large Stone Structure above it took place in the third quarter of the tenth century BCE ²⁵. Note that the Book of Kings does not relate the date of fortification of the City of David (in its maximal scope). Archaeologically, the fortification has been dated to the eighth century ²⁶. The date of fortification of the Temple Mount remains unknown. The area south of the Temple Mount was built only since the eighth century onward, which explains its absence from descriptions of pre-exilic Jerusalem ²⁷.

As noted above, accounts of building operations in Jerusalem might reflect the vivid memory of the city’s inhabitants. The account that David built a residence in the City of David (2 Sam 5,9) is strongly supported by the texts of Jeremiah and Nehemiah and might reflect a tenth-century reality (of course, the residence might have been expanded and renovated later). I would further suggest that the claim that Solomon founded the temple on the Temple Mount may also reflect a local vivid memory. Initially, the temple was a modest shrine built by the royal dynasty, and it developed gradually, stage

²⁴ Benjamin and Eilat Mazar, who excavated the area south of the Temple Mount, have observed the gap between the Temple Mount’s southern edge and the City of David’s northern edge. See E. MAZAR – B. MAZAR, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount*. The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem (Qedem 29; Jerusalem 1989) 58.

²⁵ A. MAZAR – C. BRONK RAMSEY, “14C Dates and the Iron Age Chronology of Israel: A Response”, *Radiocarbon* 50 (2008) 159-180; A. MAZAR, “The Iron Age Chronology Debate: Is the Gap Narrowing? Another Viewpoint”, *NEA* 74 (2011) 105-111.

²⁶ KENYON, *Digging up Jerusalem*, 83, 130-131; SHILOH, *City of David*, 12-13, 28; D.T. ARIEL – A. DE GROOT, “The Iron Age Extramural Occupation at the City of David and Additional Observations on the Siloam Channel”, *Excavations at the City of David 1975-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*. V: Extramural Areas (ed. D.T. ARIEL) (Qedem 40; Jerusalem 2000) 157, 159-163.

²⁷ E. MAZAR – B. MAZAR, *South of the Temple Mount*, 58-60.

by stage, over many generations, until it became the major temple of the kingdom²⁸. I evaluate the historical progression in this manner because of the late biblical authors' struggle with the question of why the temple was built by Solomon rather than by David, his venerated predecessor. To resolve this difficulty, a late (exilic/post-exilic) author narrated that David bought the site of the future temple and built an altar there as an early stage in the sanctification of the site and the construction of the temple (2 Sam 24)²⁹. Even more remarkable are the efforts of the Chronicler to present David as making wide-range preparations in anticipation of the construction of the temple (1 Chr 22–29). This author could not reverse his sources' explicit statements in the books of Samuel and Kings and assign the construction of the temple to David. Instead, he attributed to David as much as he could, in order to emphasize his deep involvement in the enterprise. There must have been a strong tradition in Jerusalem that Solomon was the founder of the temple, and the author of the king's history adopted, expanded and elaborated the tradition in his composition.

The reality of two royal residences — one on the Temple Mount and the other in the City of David — raises the question of their relations. Tentatively, I suggest that the residence in the City of David was the earlier and the more important in the early stage of the Judahite monarchy. The residence on the Temple Mount was initially a modest building — originally perhaps a ceremonial palace —

²⁸ For the dependence of the original Solomonic shrine on the palace and its gradual growth until it became the state temple, see D. USSISHKIN, "The Temple Mount in Jerusalem during the First Temple Period: An Archaeologist's View", *Exploring the Longue Durée*. Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager (ed. D. SCHLOEN) (Winona Lake, IN 2009) 473–483; A. LEMAIRE, "The Evolution of the 8th-Century B.C.E. Jerusalem Temple", *The Fire Signals of Lachish*. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin (eds. I. FINKELSTEIN – N. NA'AMAN) (Winona Lake, IN 2011) 195–202, with earlier literature on p. 195.

²⁹ In addition to the commentaries, see K. RUPPRECHT, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*. Gründung Salomos oder jebusitisches Erbe? (BZAW 144; Berlin – New York 1977) 5–17; H. DONNER, "Der Felsen und der Tempel", *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 5–6, with earlier literature in n. 24; H.P. MATHYS, "Anmerkungen zu 2. Sam 24", "Sieben Augen auf einem Stein" (*Sach* 3,9). Festschrift für I. Willi-Plein (eds. F. HARTENSTEIN – M. PIETSCH) (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2007) 229–234, 242–246.

erected near the shrine and developed gradually over time. Since the early residence was built in a densely inhabited area which placed limitations on its growth, the centre was gradually shifted to the Temple Mount, which became the seat of the royal palace and the site of the central temple of the kingdom.

The Book of Kings provides no further descriptions of the fortification of Jerusalem after the time of David and Solomon. Even the construction of the “Broad Wall” that surrounded the South-western Hill in the late eighth century BCE is mentioned nowhere. The reason is clear: The authors of the story cycles of David and Solomon attributed to the two kings the construction of the palace and temple in all their splendor, as well as the fortification of the Temple Mount and the City of David (in its limited scope). Hence, later kings were capable only of restoring the magnificent edifices already constructed, but not of initiating any new building projects. The picture of building operations in Jerusalem and the Kingdom of Judah has drastically changed in the Book of Chronicles, but this work was written hundreds of years later and reflects historiographical concepts of the time of its late author.

IV. Biblical Jerusalem in the Persian Period

I shall open the discussion by comparing the accounts of David’s building operations in Jerusalem in the books of Samuel and Chronicles:

“And he fortified ‘the city’ round about (*sābīb*) from the Millo inwards (*vābay^ʿtā*)” (2 Sam 5,9).

“And he fortified the city round about (*missābīb*) from the Millo up to the surrounding wall (‘*ad hassābīb*); and Joab repaired (*y^ʿhayyeh*) the rest of the city” (1 Chr 11,8).

Sābīb is a *hapax legomenon*, derived from the noun *sbb* in the sense of “surrounding wall”. By a play of words with the adverb (*missābīb*) and noun (*hassābīb*), the Chronicler interpreted the text of his source, the Book of Samuel. First, he emphasized that David fortified the area from the Millo “up to the surrounding wall”. In my opinion, this “surrounding wall” (*sābīb*) designated the Ophel wall located north of the Millo that encompassed the northern quarter

of Jerusalem in the Second Temple period (see below). Second, he distinguished between the quarter surrounded by a wall, namely, the Ophel, which David fortified, and “the rest of the city”, namely, the City of David, which Joab repaired.

The differences between the Samuel and Chronicles’ descriptions are twofold: first, regarding the identity of the fortified quarter (the City of David versus the quarter of Ophel); and second, in the Chronicles’ addition of the element of repairment (verb *hyh*; see Neh 4,2 [MT 3,34]). As we shall see, the Chronicler’s description accurately reflects the situation in the city of his time, which included two separate quarters: the City of David and the Ophel.

Some details of the City of David might be gained by analyzing Book of Nehemiah. Let me start with the new governor’s night tour (Neh 2,11-15). Nehemiah left the City of David through the Valley Gate, located on its western side. The sections of the ancient wall he inspected were all located in the desolated southern quarter of the City of David; its eastern section was so badly destroyed that he was forced to ride northward along the Kidron Valley (v. 15a). The night tour ended with his re-entering into the city through the Valley Gate (v. 15b).

Why did the tour encompass only the southern quarter of the city? The answer is self-evident: the memoir’s author sought to describe a ruined city whose walls were utterly destroyed. For this purpose, he selected the quarter that in his time was mainly desolate with dilapidated walls, namely, the City of David — thereby illustrating to his readers the utter destruction that Nehemiah should have repaired. However, the reference to a city gate (the Valley Gate), by which he came out of the inhabited quarter and re-entered after completing his mission, indicates that the physical conditions in the quarter north of it (the Ophel) were different from those of the surveyed quarter (the City of David)³⁰.

When examining the description of how the wall was repaired, the absence of building work in the long section of a thousand cubits (about 475 meters according to the short cubit) between the Valley Gate and Dung Gate is remarkable (Neh 3,13). Either the wall running along this line was not damaged in the course of the Babylon-

³⁰ The secrecy that surrounds the tour and its timing at night are literary motifs aimed at magnifying the severity of the situation. They should not be taken as representation of the reality of Nehemiah’s time.

ian conquest and required no repair, or else no ancient wall existed along this line. The latter assumption rests on the claim that the Dung Gate, which may possibly be identified with the pre-exilic Potsherd Gate (Jer 19,2) ³¹, was the place where the late First Temple wall that encompassed the Southwestern Hill reached the southern end of the City of David. According to this assumption, the king who built the wall (either Ahaz or Hezekiah) considered it redundant to fortify the inter-mural section between the Valley Gate and Dung Gate and left it unwallled ³². The former assumption may be supported by two arguments: (a) the unlikelihood that the southern part of the City of David was left defenseless as late as the late eighth century BCE, the time when the “Broad Wall” was constructed. (b) According to Neh 12,31b, the first procession passed from the Valley Gate and “went southward on top of the wall to the Dung Gate”. Although there is no unequivocal evidence that can settle the controversy, I tend to assume that a narrow pre-exilic wall ran along the southwestern margin of the city and defended the nearby quarter.

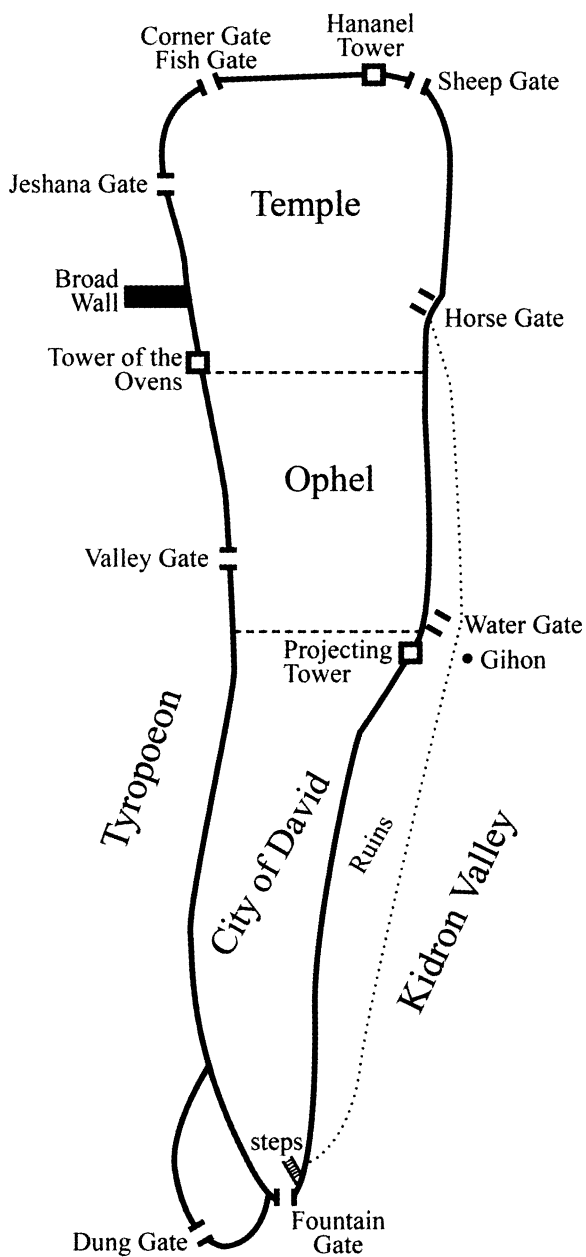
Before his departure to Jerusalem, the keeper of the king’s garden supplied Nehemiah with timber to make beams for the gates of three major walled units (*bîrâ*): ³³ the temple, the city and the governor residence (Neh 2,8) ³⁴. No wonder that the author of the account of the rebuilding project laid such a great emphasis on the construction of the temple’s and the city’s gates (Neh 3,1.3.6.13.14.15). After the project was completed, the city’s mayor was called *šar habbîrāh* (“mayor of a walled city”) (Neh 7,2).

³¹ For the identification see SIMONS, *Jerusalem*, 230-231; D.C. LIID, “Potsherd Gate”, *ABD* V, 427, with earlier literature.

³² D. USSISHKIN, “The Borders and De Facto Size of Jerusalem in the Persian Period”, *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period* (eds. O. LIPSCHITS – M. OEMING) (Winona Lake, IN 2006) 147-160; FINKELSTEIN, “Jerusalem”, 508-509; FINKELSTEIN – KOCH – LIPSCHITS, “Mound on the Mount”, 4-5, 10-11, 13.

³³ For the terms *birtu* and *bîrâ* in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, see A. LEMAIRE – H. LOZACHMEUR, “Bîrâh/birtâ’ en Araméen”, *Syria* 64 (1987) 261-266; P. MANDEL, “‘Birah’ as an Architectural Term in Rabbinic Literature”, *Tarbiz* 61 (1992) 195-217 (Hebrew); E. LIPIŃSKI, “Origins and Avatars of *birtu*, ‘Stronghold’”, *Archiv Orientalní* 67 (1999) 609-617.

³⁴ I very much doubt the correctness of the commonly accepted translation of v. 8 “... for the gates of the temple fortress”. The term *bîrâ* describes the temple compound as being surrounded by wall, not the erection of a fortress in its area. Hence the search for a fortress within the temple, the forerunner of the later “Antonia” fortress, is redundant.



Jerusalem in the Persian Period

According to the description of Nehemiah 3, six gates existed in the newly rebuilt wall. Two of these were in the northeastern and northwestern corners of the Temple Mount (the Sheep and Fish gates), two in the far south (the Dung and Fountain gates), one in the western side of the Ophel (the Valley Gate) and one in the western side of the Temple Mount (Jeshanah Gate). The latter probably replaced the Ephraim Gate that is omitted from the description of the repair project (but see Neh 12,16), but its location was still memorialized by the author of Nehemiah's memoir and he mentioned its name in the route of the western procession (Neh 12,39).

Some scholars suggested correcting the transcription "Jeshanah Gate" and reading it "Mishneh Gate", assuming that it was the entrance to the Mishneh quarter³⁵. However, the gate is located north of the "Broad Wall" (Neh 3,6.8), the northern wall of the Southwestern Hill, hence it led out of town rather than to the quarter of Mishneh. As the transcription *ša'ar hayšānā* appears twice (Neh 3,6; 12,39), it must be the correct rendering of the gate's name. Ehrlich suggested that its name is an ellipsis of *ša'ar hā'ir hayšānā* ("the Gate of the Old City"), and compared it to "the Upper Gate" (Eze 9,2; possibly also 2 Chr 23,20), which is an abbreviated form of "the Upper Gate of the House of YHWH" (2 Kgs 15,35 and 2 Chr 27,3)³⁶. Unfortunately, there can be no certainty about the feminine noun that is intended by the assumed ellipsis (e.g., city, wall, pool, canal, etc.) and its identity must remain open.

The Tower of the Ovens (Neh 3,11; 12,38) was probably located in the northwestern corner of the Ophel, i.e., the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount, north of the Valley Gate³⁷. Might one suggest that this was the place where pastry was prepared for offerings in the temple?

³⁵ SIMONS, *Jerusalem*, 277, 305-306; VINCENT, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament* I, 240, 243, 252-253; M. AVI-YONAH, "The Walls of Nehemiah – a Minimalist View", *IEJ* 4 (1954) 242-243; WILLIAMSON, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 196; BLENKINSOPP, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 234.

³⁶ A.B. EHRLICH, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*. Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches 5 (Leipzig 1924; reprint Hildesheim 1968) 27; *ibid.*, vol. 7, 189.

³⁷ Avi-Yonah ("Walls of Nehemiah", 244) proposed locating it near the northwestern corner of the City of David. See D.L. LIID, "Ovens, Tower of the", *ABD* V, 52a.

The number and location of gates in the pre-exilic city was about the same. The Benjamin Gate and Court Gate, located in the north-eastern and northwestern sides of the Temple Mount, antedated the Second Temple Sheep Gate and Fish Gate. The Ephraim Gate was located south of the Second Temple Jeshanah Gate, probably north of the place where the "Broad Wall" reached the city's western wall (Neh 12,38-39). According to 2 Kgs 14,13, King Joash of Israel "made a breach of 400 cubits in the wall of Jerusalem, from Ephraim Gate to the Corner Gate". The breach of about 185 meters (according to the short cubit) passed along the western wall of the Temple Mount up to a point north of its future juncture with the "Broad Wall".

We may safely assume that the Valley Gate was already built in the First Temple period, possibly under a different name, and was the main gate that connected the Southeastern Hill with the new quarter built on the Southwestern Hill. Due to its strategic location between the two parts of the city, I suggest identifying it with the Middle Gate (*ša'ar hattāvek*) mentioned in Jer 39,3, where the Babylonian officers sat for judgment after breaching the northern wall of Jerusalem³⁸.

Before the quarrying of Hezekiah Tunnel, the Water Gate in the east led to the Spring of Gihon, but as far as we know, did not lead out of town. The Potsherd Gate (Jer 19,2) probably antedated the Dung Gate in the southwestern corner of the City of David, and the Gate between the Two Walls (2 Kgs 25,4; Jer 39,4; 52,7) antedated the Fountain Gate on its southeastern corner. In sum, five of the six gates that Nehemiah repaired were built in the same place as those of the First Temple period, but most of the ancient names were either replaced or used side by side with new ones. The Jeshanah Gate alone did not appear in pre-exilic texts and has replaced the Ephraim Gate located on its south³⁹. The pre-exilic structure located near the gate and alluded to by the ellipsis of its name remains unknown.

³⁸ K. GALLING identified the Middle Gate with the Ephraim Gate, which he located in the city's northern wall; see "Archäologischer Jahresbericht", *ZDPV* 54 (1931) 88-89; idem, "Jerusalem", *Biblisches Reallexikon* (Tübingen 1935) 303, and map on pp. 301-302. N. AVIGAD, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville, TN 1983) 59, identified the Middle Gate with the gate he reconstructed in the northeastern corner of the "Broad Wall".

³⁹ Needless to say, there were many internal gates in the City of David and the Temple Mount in the First and Second Temple periods, but they are not my concern here.

The quarter of Ophel is mentioned for the first time in post-exilic texts, and the text of 1 Chr 11,8 assumes its presence ⁴⁰. The term “Ophel” is mentioned in the Mesha stele and in a north Israelite prophetic story (2 Kgs 5,24), and originally might have been a Moabite-Israelite isogloss meaning “bulge”, i.e., acropolis. In Judahite texts it appears in the books of Nehemiah (3,26-27; 11,21) and 2 Chronicles (27,3; 33,14), as well as in late redactions of the books of Isaiah (32,14) and Micah (4,8). The reference to Ophel side by side with watchtower (Isa 32,14) and tower (Mic 4,8) indicates that it designated a building or quarter enclosed by a wall.

According to the account of Nehemiah’s rebuilding project, the men of Tekoa repaired a section of the wall “from opposite the great projecting tower to the Ophel wall” (Neh 3,27). I have already suggested that the great projecting tower referred to in vv. 25-27 is the Stepped Stone Structure located in the northeastern side of the City of David. It is thus evident that the repaired section of the wall, whose course ran from south to north, reached the corner of the south to north Ophel wall. In other words, the eastern wall of the Ophel was built before the time of Nehemiah and required no repair. No wonder that the next repaired section (v. 28) is located near the Horse Gate, at the northern end of the Ophel and the southeastern side of the Temple Mount (see Jer 31,40a [MT 39a]) ⁴¹.

The account of Nehemiah’s repair project indicates that the quarter of Ophel was located in between the Temple Mount in the north and the northern edge of the Stepped Stone Structure in the south. As indicated by Neh 3,28, it was fortified before Nehemiah’s rebuilding of the city wall, as is revealed also by the mention of the Valley Gate, the western gate of the quarter, in the description of Nehemiah’s night ride (Neh 2,11-15). Unintentionally, the memoir’s author disclosed that the quarter that Nehemiah left was enclosed by a gate, hence fortified. It is evident that Nehemiah’s rebuilding project was a second stage in the city’s recovery after the Babylonian destruction of 587/586 BCE.

⁴⁰ For the biblical Ophel, see SIMONS, *Jerusalem*, 64-67; P. WELTEN, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern* (WMANT 42; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973) 66-67, 75-77; W.H. MARE, “Ophel”, *ABD* VI, 26a.

⁴¹ D.C. LIID, “Horse Gate”, *ABD* III, 290a.

An important source regarding the city of Jerusalem's condition in the Persian period is the Book of Chronicles, which on occasion — while ostensibly describing the situation in the First Temple period — in fact depicts that of its author's time. I already discussed the term *sābīb* (1 Chr 11,8), which designates the surrounding wall of the Ophel. The Chronicler attributed to Jotham the repair of the Ophel wall (2 Chr 27,3), referring anachronistically to the fortification of the quarter of his own time.

Of particular interest is his description of the wall built by Manasseh (2 Chr 33,14)⁴². The Chronicler first described an "outer wall of the City of David" that passed near the Kidron gully, which turned west near the Gihon Spring and joined the "mid-slope city wall" discovered in the excavations⁴³. The wall then surrounded the Temple Mount as far as the Fish Gate, located in the northwestern corner of the Temple Mount, and continued along the Ophel western wall. At some point south of the Valley Gate, it turned eastward and passed along the Ophel's southern wall, reaching the point of departure above the gully of Kidron.

The Chronicler was probably acquainted with the vestiges of the eastern wall unearthed by Reich and Shukron at the lowermost end of the city's eastern slope, which was indeed an "outer wall" and passed "in the wadi"⁴⁴. He combined this ancient external wall with the two fortified quarters of his time, the Temple Mount and the Ophel, and attributed the fortification (verb *bnh*) of the wall to Manasseh as reward for his penitence. Throughout his work, the Chronicler distinguished between the City of David — the more desolated quarter which was probably fortified by a thin wall — and the two more populated and better fortified quarters to its north.

Finally, according to 2 Chr 26,9, King Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem "at the Corner Gate and at the Valley Gate and at the buttress, and fortified them". The Corner Gate was located in the north-

⁴² For detailed discussions, see WELTEN, *Geschichte*, 72-78, with earlier literature; N. NA'AMAN, "When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City? The Rise of Jerusalem as Judah's Premier City in the Eighth-Seventh Centuries B.C.E", *BASOR* 347 (2007) 45b-46a; I. Himbaza, "Le mur de Manassé (2 Ch xxxiii 14) entre archéologues et théologiens", *VT* 57 (2007) 283-294.

⁴³ See note 26 above.

⁴⁴ REICH – SHUKRON, "Urban Development", 209-218; idem, "The Date of City-Wall 501 in Jerusalem", *Tel Aviv* 35 (2008) 114-122; NA'AMAN, "When and How", 45b and n. 27.

western corner of the Temple Mount and the Valley Gate in the western side of the Ophel. A buttress is mentioned two times in the eastern side of Nehemiah's wall (Neh 3,19-20.24-25), and we may safely assume that the tower was built on top of the buttress, located south of the Stepped Stone Structure, in the highest place of the City of David (vv. 24-25). The Chronicler described the reality of his own time, when three towers were built in strategic locations along the walls of Jerusalem.

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A remarkable characteristic of the pre-exilic biblical historiography is the attribution of extensive building operations in Jerusalem and elsewhere to David and Solomon, avoiding attribution of similar construction works to other kings of the dynasty. The attribution was probably an extension of the oral tradition that connected specific kings to certain buildings and walls in the City of David and the Temple Mount. The magnifying presentations of the kings of the United Monarchy in the early works of the history of David's rise and the 'Book of the acts of Solomon' were adopted and greatly expanded by the author of the Book of Kings. He developed the ideology of a great United Monarchy, according to which the kingdom reached its height in the early monarchical period. Moreover, to magnify the achievements of the two early kings, he avoided attributing new building works, including the construction of the "Broad Wall", to later Judahite kings. This attribution created the artificial picture, according to which all major building projects in Jerusalem took place shortly after the foundation of the monarchy and the city did not develop in later periods.

The term "Ophel" for a fortified quarter of the city appears for the first time in post-exilic texts. Judahite authors of that era relate that the area south of the Temple Mount was divided into two parts: the fortified quarter of Ophel in the north and the more desolated quarter of the City of David in the south. The Chronicler anachronistically attributed the fortification of the Ophel to pre-exilic kings, but in reality, his descriptions reflect the situation in the Second Temple period. The quarter was already fortified when Nehemiah carried out his repairing project; its population and fortification formed the first stage in the recovery of the city in the early Persian period. The

early settlement in the quarter is probably the result of its being sparsely inhabited in the pre-exilic period. Thus, it was easier for the new settlers to establish their buildings in a relatively non-inhabited area, instead of clearing the heavily destroyed areas and settling there.

Archaeological research in the City of David faces difficulties in tracing the surviving fragments of the tenth and fifth-fourth centuries BCE, as the city was inhabited without interruption for hundreds of years in the First Temple period and after a short gap in the Second Temple period as well. Moreover, drawing an historical picture of periods of decline on the basis of the fragmented remnants alone may lead to a misleading depiction. On the basis of the archaeological evidence alone, it would be impossible to reconstruct the reality of these eras of decline. It is the biblical text that demonstrates the importance of the summit of the City of David in the tenth century BCE; that informs how the Temple Mount and the Ophel were the centres of urban life in the early Persian period; and that communicates that following Nehemiah's building project, even the southern quarter of the city was surrounded by an (albeit thin) wall. In order to obtain a balanced evaluation of the ancient reality, we must examine in depth both the textual and the archaeological evidence and avoid relying exclusively on one of them.

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SUMMARY

The article examines the accounts of construction works carried out in Jerusalem in the tenth and fifth-fourth centuries BCE and emphasizes the importance of local oral traditions, the role of biblical texts, and archaeological evidence. It demonstrates that the residence built by David played an important role throughout the First Temple period. The Millo is identified with the Stepped Stone Structure. Solomon possibly founded a modest shrine on the Temple Mount, which later became the main sanctuary of the kingdom. The Ophel was the earlier quarter settled and fortified in Jerusalem after the Babylonian destruction of 587/586.

Rural Galilee and Rapid Changes: An Investigation of the Socio-Economic Dynamics and Developments in Roman Galilee¹

I. Galilee and the Historical Jesus — In Search of an Explanation

1. *Plethora of Problems*

Close to three decades after the publication of Sean Freyne's magisterial study, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian* ², Galilean research is flourishing as never before. At the same time, however, it is facing profound difficulties in reaching consensus on a number of different questions of which the issue of the socio-economic state of Galilee during the reign of Herod Antipas stands out as the most crucial ³, not least due to its affinity to the question of why Jesus "happened" when he did in order to see if the emergence of the Jesus movement can be explained "locally" as the result of rapid changes within Galilee in the Herodian era ⁴.

One way of tackling this inconclusive situation would be to call for a moratorium on studies aimed at providing a grand picture of life in Herodian Galilee and instead direct our energies towards

¹ I wish to thank Agnes Choi and Bradley Root for helpful comments and corrections.

² S. FREYNE, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.*. A Study of Second Temple Judaism (University of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity 5; Wilmington, NC 1980).

³ Other much discussed topics include the question of Galilee as a hotbed for revolutionaries, the question of the ethnicity and history of the Galileans and the question of the cultural milieu of Galilee. To some extent a consensus has been reached in these cases, though see the discussion in M.H. JENSEN, *Herod Antipas in Galilee. The Literary and Archaeological Sources on the Reign of Herod Antipas and its Socio-Economic Impact on Galilee* (WUNT II. 215; Tübingen ²2010) 5-9.

⁴ Perhaps most vividly claimed in J. D. CROSSAN – J. L. REED, *Excavating Jesus. Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts* (New York 2001). For an introduction to the connections between historical Jesus research and Galilean studies, see M. H. JENSEN, "Herod Antipas in Galilee. Friend or Foe of the Historical Jesus?", *JSNT* 5 (2007) 7-32, as well as JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 5-30.

narrow and well-defined topics proceeding one step at a time. In particular, engagement in the ongoing archaeological research in Galilee itself seems of particular value, since it is from the realm of archaeology that most of the advances have been made throughout the last decades of Galilean research. Likewise, renewed reflection on the theoretical models explicitly or implicitly involved in our synthetic approach to the sources seems appropriate, since much of the divergence might stem precisely from a different approach to sociological models.

However, the amount of recent archaeological data as well as several specialized studies at hand make the present stage a good point for pursuing a fresh evaluation of the central question of the socio-economic situation of Antipas' Galilee while keeping in mind, naturally, that new material might profoundly change such a synthesis.

2. *Rapid Change*

The first question confronting us is how to conceive such an investigation and not least how to use sociological models. Should we take a “social scientific approach” or a “social historian approach”, where the former is more occupied with complex models and the latter more hesitant and concerned with the interplay between sources and model? Should we choose a structural-functionalist model or a conflict model, where the former is designed to describe balance and equilibrium in a society and the latter designed to detect imbalance and disruptions within a society?⁵

These issues have recently been discussed by Douglas E. Oakman and David A. Fiensy in connection with Galilean studies. Oakman argues for a distinct use of sociological models in what he describes as an “abductive social” approach, in contrast with the “inductive positivist” approach that is marked by “social ‘flatness’ of social stratification”⁶. Fiensy, on the other hand, sees the danger in a too overt use of models: “The social scientist-New Testament scholar can be so model-driven that the model becomes the evidence, or in other words,

⁵ Cf. the discussion in JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 30-34.

⁶ Cf. D.E. OAKMAN, “The Shape of Power and Political-Economy in Herodian Galilee”, *Liberating Biblical Study*. Scholarship, Art, and Action in Honor of the Center and Library for the Bible and Social Justice (eds. C. MYERS – L. DYKSTRA) (Eugene, OR 2011) 147-161.

he/she works deductively instead of inductively from evidence". Still, he maintains that ignorance of macro-sociology is an open invitation to "ethnocentrism and anachronism"⁷. One may add that if the risk of a too positivistic approach is "social flatness", the risk of a too deductive approach is "social greyishness", where the model produces the same conclusion no matter which time or region it is applied to. While a model makes us aware of certain characteristics of ancient socio-economic realities, simply "checking" to see if kings, retainers, cities etc. were present will not reveal the profoundness and impact in the particular case under discussion⁸.

In order to avoid both extremes, the approach taken here will give preference to the study of actual sources, while at the same time adopt the assumption that rapid change was bad news for the rural population as asserted in a typical model of conflict. Specifically, I intend to pursue an approach presented in a number of studies by M. Moreland, who applies the work of the sociologist James C. Scott on peasant ideology to the Galilean world⁹. Scott's model is a conflict model based on studies of village contexts and peasant revolts in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries¹⁰. It rests on the assumption that the core value of peasant ideology was one of risk-aversion with a strong desire for safety and risk-sharing, preferring above anything else "a stable economic and social environment ..."¹¹. Rapid change, especially in the form of colonial interference, and negative consequences from agrarian administrative centers would

⁷ Cf. D.A. FIENSY, "The Nature of the Galilean Economy in the Late Second Temple Period: The Sociological-Archaeological Debate" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Boston 2008).

⁸ For a similar concern about to overt use of sociological models, see the recent discussion in S. LEE MATTILA, "Jesus and the 'Middle Peasants'? Problematizing a Social-Scientific Concept", *CBQ* 72 (2010) 291-313.

⁹ Cf. J.C. SCOTT, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*. Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia (New Haven – London 1976) and M. MORELAND, "The Jesus Movement in the Villages of Roman Galilee: Archaeology, Q, and Modern Anthropological Theory", *Oral Performance, Popular Tradition, and Hidden Transcript in Q* (ed. R.L. HORSLEY) (Atlanta, GA 2006) 159-180.

¹⁰ Cf. R.A. HORSLEY, "Moral Economy and Renewal Movement in Q", *Oral Performance, Popular Tradition, and Hidden Transcript in Q* (ed. RICHARD A. HORSLEY) (Atlanta, GA 2006) 143, and MORELAND, "Galilean Response", 38.

¹¹ MORELAND, "Galilean Response", 39.

always be bad news for the peasants ¹². Thus, it is the aim of this investigation to confirm or to deny the presence of rapid change in first-century C.E. Galilee.

3. *Gauging Galilee's Socio-Economic Pulse*

In order to detect rapid change, we must identify appropriate gauges or indicators that can provide us with a sense of the socio-economic pulse of Galilee. The task is to identify as many as possible. It is simply not convincing to say that, since the Herodian colonial administration was expanding at exactly the same time as John the Baptist and Jesus lived, their resistance was most likely a kind of peasant resistance ¹³.

A gauge is defined by the ability to reveal a certain aspect of the socio-economic situation when measured over time. It has two intrinsic limitations. One is that it is a relative marker geared more towards detecting changes than describing the situation *per se*. Another is its limited scope designed only to describe the situation from a certain angle. The idea is nevertheless that each indicator will allow, first, the different types of source material and the different approaches to speak for themselves, and, second, when combined, they will provide us with a sense of the socio-economic conditions of rural first-century Galilee. The gauges to be dealt with are: the political history of Galilee, the impact of Herod Antipas, land ownership, settlement patterns, rural villages and living units, monetization, specialization and commerce, taxes and climate. In each case, the aim is to trace developments and change over time.

¹² Not all would agree to this presupposition. Especially Douglas R. Edwards has, within a Galilean context, argued for the view that enhanced opportunities of trade and a market-driven economy would present itself as a benefit to the peasants as well allowing more trade and interaction see D.R. EDWARDS, "Identity and Social Location in Roman Galilean Villages", *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (eds. J. ZANGENBERG – H.W. ATTRIDGE – D.B. MARTIN) (Tübingen 2007) 373-374.

¹³ As often claimed, cf. e.g. R.A. HORSLEY – J.A. DRAPER, *Whoever Hears You Hears Me*. Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q (Harrisburg, PA 1999) 58-59 and S. FREYNE, *Jesus, A Jewish Galilean*. A New Reading of the Jesus-Story (London – New York 2004) 134-139.

To sum up, the working hypothesis of the present investigation can be stated in three points: (a) The cost of rapid change was to be paid by those at the base of the socio-economic pyramid, namely, the rural population (following Scott). (b) A “synthetic” evaluation must be based on a diachronic evaluation of the sources. (c) By identifying rapid change, we are not able to describe the socio-economic conditions *per se*, but only if it was worsening, improving or remaining unchanged ¹⁴.

II. The Socio-Economic Pulse of Rural Galilee ¹⁵

1. *The Political History of Galilee*

Beginning with the political development in Galilee, the question confronting us is to what extent the region was experiencing dramatic and rapid change. The issues to be dealt with are (a) the Roman takeover and the reorganization by Pompey, (b) the era of Herod the Great, and (c) the reign of Herod Antipas ¹⁶.

¹⁴ This would also be my main objection to the otherwise highly informative recent article by J.L. REED, “Instability in Jesus’ Galilee: A Demographic Perspective”, *JBL* 129 (2010) 343-365. Through the introduction of demographics into the discussion, Reed is able to show plausibly how difficult life was in antiquity with shorter life expectancy, high rates of child deaths and deadly diseases. However, it is a big leap in argumentation to jump from this to the conclusion that Galilee witnessed “a high level of social instability” (REED, “Instability”, 349), since these living conditions were a shared fate for life in the Roman world as such. Following this logic, one would have to conclude that the entire ancient world was marked by “social instability”. Further, when applying his general statistics to Galilee, Reed admits that there are no grounds for claiming that “Galileans fared terribly and were destitute under Antipas” (REED, “Instability”, 364).

¹⁵ An earlier and shorter version of some of the issues under discussion in this section has been published in M.H. JENSEN, “Conflicting Calls? Family and Discipleship in Mark & Matthew in the Light of First-Century Galilean Village Life”, *Mark and Matthew, Texts and Contexts I*. Understanding the First Gospels in Their First Century Settings (eds. E.-M. BECKER – A. RUNESSON) (Tübingen 2011) 205-232.

¹⁶ A fourth topic with some relevance concerns the question of the origins of the Galileans, which I have treated in detail in M.H. JENSEN, “Climate, Droughts, Wars and Famines in Galilee As a Background for Understanding the Historical Jesus” *JBL* (forthcoming 2012).

According to Josephus, Pompey's conquest and reorganization in 63 BCE stripped the Hasmonean state of many of its conquered city-states, allowing only Galilee proper to remain in Jewish hands (*Ant.* 14.74-76 and *War* 1.155-158). The extent to which Pompey's reorganizations, which also entailed subjection of Jerusalem to tax (*War* 1.155-158; *Ant.* 14.74-76), resulted in a serious crisis and shortage of land has been debated. Josephus himself comments on these events (in one of his many inserted editorial remarks), stating that it was a great disaster (πάθος) for Jerusalem to lose its freedom (ἐλευθερία) and to be robbed of some 10,000 talents (*Ant.* 14.77-78) in this way. In light of Josephus' words, Applebaum may be right in claiming that the acts of Pompey "must have created a considerable rural proletariat" ¹⁷. Nevertheless, it seems to be an exaggeration when he further claims that Pompey in reality began the process that eventually resulted in the rebellion of 66 CE ¹⁸. According to Josephus, all the burdens placed on the Jewish nation by Pompey were later completely removed by Caesar in return for the assistance provided to him by Antipater and Hyrcanus II in his battle against Pompey in Egypt in 49-48 BCE (*Ant.* 14.127-133). Not only did Caesar return a number of the former areas, but he also granted tax relief (cf. the lists in *War* 1.193-194 and the decrees in *Ant.* 14.190-216), and, according to Josephus, it was his stated intention to return the land to the Jews, which had formerly been in their possession (*Ant.* 14.205, 207).

The era before Herod the Great's final capture of Jerusalem in 37 BCE was one of unrest and war, including several battles and confrontations between the ousted Hasmonean clan of Aristobulus II, backed by the Parthians, and his brother Hyrcanus II, backed by the upcoming Herodian dynasty and Rome. Some of these battles took place in Galilee, and the fighting would have caused periodic, but significant, disruptions in the region. After Herod's final enthronement in 37 BCE, we have no reports of upheavals.

¹⁷ S. APPLEBAUM, "Economic Life in Palestine", *The Jewish People in the First Century* (eds. S. SAFRAI – M. STERN) (Amsterdam 1976) II, 656.

¹⁸ Cf. S. APPLEBAUM, "Judaea As a Roman Province: The Countryside As a Political and Economic Factor", *ANRW* II.8 (eds. H. TEMPORINI – W. HAASE) (Berlin 1977) 361.

After Herod's death, turmoil swirled over the country. While most of the incidents described by Josephus took place in Judea (cf. *Ant.* 17.285: Ἀθητηρίων δὲ ἡ Ἰουδαία πλέως ἦν), Galilee was impacted as well when Judas, son of Hezekiah, captured the city of Sepphoris and took hold of its weapon arsenal. According to Josephus, Varus recaptured the city in 4 BCE, burned it to the ground, and sold the inhabitants as slaves (*War* 2.56, 68; *Ant.* 17.271–272, 289) ¹⁹.

Interestingly, no internal upheavals are reported, by Josephus or any other written source, to have taken place in Galilee during the reign of Antipas and, in fact, until the war of 66 CE. The rebellion in 6 CE led by Judas the Galilean (so *War* 2.118; *Ant.* 18.23 and Acts 5:37) or Judas of Gamala (so *Ant.* 18.4) ²⁰ probably did not take place in Galilee since it was a response to the census in Judea carried out by Quirinius after the removal of Archelaos. Likewise, there is nothing in Josephus' records to indicate that the one known war of Antipas, namely his fight with his former father-in-law, the Nabatean king Aretas, took place in Galilee. Rather, since the fight was partly due to a dispute about boundaries, it seems to have taken place in or near Antipas' other area, Perea, bordering on Aretas' kingdom (cf. *Ant.* 18.113–115) ²¹. Also Antipas' arrest of John the Baptist reportedly did not lead to direct rebellion even though John was able to gather a crowd (*Ant.* 18.116–119) ²². Despite Josephus' interest in portraying Antipas in an unfavourable light as another example of bad Herodian rulership, he does not provide us with more embarrassing stories of rebellion or unrest within his jurisdiction ²³.

When specifically examining Antipas' reign and its impact on the socio-economic development in Galilee, a larger study of all the sources available forces me to conclude that Antipas is best

¹⁹ For a more detailed exposition of these events, see JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 150–151.

²⁰ This Judas is also likely to be the Judas of *War* 2.56 spearheading the rebellion in Galilee after the death of Herod the Great and the burning of Sepphoris.

²¹ The manuscripts name the district Gamala, but since it was part of the Decapolis and not subject to either Antipas or Aretas, Feldman suggests the district of Gabilis south of Moabitis in Idumea to have been the area in dispute — cf. L.H. FELDMAN, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities Books XVIII–XIX* (LOEB 433; Cambridge, MA 1965) 80–81.

²² For a more detailed exposition, see JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 96–97.

²³ Cf. my discussion in JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 99–100.

described with adjectives such as: minor, moderate and unremarkable. He did not make fundamental changes in Galilee; rather he engaged in modest development of the region ²⁴.

An outline of Galilee's political history until the First Revolt reveals a similar picture with no reported incidents in the sources. Agrippa I succeeded Antipas as the ruler of Galilee in 39 CE, albeit only for a short period of time until 44 CE (*Ant.* 18.252; 19.350-352; *War* 2.183, 219). During this time, no reported Galilean upheavals or incidents have come down to us, except for protests against Gaius' attempt to erect his statue in the temple, which were brought against Petronius, the legate of Syria, who at one point resided in Tiberias (*Ant.* 18.269; *War* 2.193). The following period (44-66 C.E.) was one of direct Roman government ²⁵, and, again, we are not informed of actual confrontations in Galilee except for the assault on Galilean pilgrims in Samaria (*Ant.* 20.118-136; *War* 2.232-235). When the revolt finally broke out, it comes as no surprise that Josephus spoke of it being orchestrated from Jerusalem and subsequently spreading to Galilee ²⁶.

To sum up, the Roman conquest of Judea in 63 BCE did bring turmoil to the entire region, including Galilee. It is, however, noteworthy that the reported unrest is confined to the transitional periods rather than being continuous. It seems especially evident that the period under Herod Antipas was relatively calm.

2. Settlement Patterns

An area of inquiry that has been considerably advanced through recent decades of archaeological activity is that of settlement patterns. An increasing number of surveys performed by Israeli archaeologists, in particular, now provide us with a sketch of how settlement activity developed over time.

²⁴ Cf. JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 135-162.

²⁵ Agrippa II did gain some foothold in Galilee in this period and was granted the city of Tiberias during the reign of Nero (54-68 CE), cf. *Ant.* 20.159; *War* 2.252; *Life* 37-38. For more on the history of Tiberias, cf. JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 135-138.

²⁶ Cf. the discussion of the events in FREYNE, *Galilee*, 78-91. According to M. Goodman, the increased tension in Judea and Jerusalem was due to socio-economic inequality between rich and poor prompted by the elite's control of the temple institution, cf. M. GOODMAN, "The First Jewish Revolt: Social Conflict and the Problem of Debt", *JJS* 33 (1982) 417-427.

It should be noted immediately that there are several methodological complications connected to the use of surface surveys in establishing settlement and population density, such as rather broad periodizations (e.g. the entire Roman period), different counting strategies, problems with detecting pottery in certain periods and more, which may lead to over- or under-representation of certain periods²⁷. Nevertheless, surveys are valuable as a macro tool that can provide a preliminary view of a given area’s development over time; data from actual excavations can later be added to provide a more detailed knowledge of that area.

In 2001 a group of Israeli archaeologists published *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee*, which summarizes the results from a number of minor surveys in Upper Galilee and provides an overview of the number of settlements in the region throughout the ancient period; the results from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods are listed in Chart 1. It is immediately apparent that the number of settlements increased throughout these periods, though at an uneven pace. In the Roman period, the increase was 60%, whereas the growth in the Byzantine period was only 14%²⁸.

	Hel. (332-63 BCE)	Rom. (63 BCE — 324 CE)	Byz. (324-641)
Upper Galilee	106	170	194

Chart 1

A survey was published regarding the area east of Galilee, the Golan, by Dan Urman in 1985, which produced results very similar to those of Upper Galilee as can be seen in Chart 2. An increase is noticeable throughout the period with the sharpest increase in the Roman period (142%) followed by a minor increase in the Byzantine period (15%)²⁹.

²⁷ For a discussion, see U. LEIBNER, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee*. An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee (Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 127; Tübingen 2009) 59-86.

²⁸ Cf. R. FRANKEL et al. (eds.), *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee* (IAA Reports 14; Jerusalem 2001) 104-140, especially table 5.1 p. 126.

²⁹ D. URMAN, *The Golan*. A Profile of a Region during the Roman and Byzantine Periods (BAR International Series 269; London 1985).

	Hel. (332-63 BCE)	Rom. (63 BCE — 324 CE)	Byz. (324-641)
Golan	75	182	210

Chart 2

In a study from 2004, Doron Bar has collected the results from a number of the completed surveys in the on-going *Archaeological Survey of Israel-project* (ASI). As Chart 3 demonstrates, the overall picture is consistent with a general rise in the number of settlements (the peak is marked in bold) ³⁰.

	Hel. (332-63 BCE)	Early Rom. (63 BCE-70 CE)	Late Rom. (70-324)	Byz. (324-641)
Golan	-	51	69	40
Hanita, Galilee	28	41		45
Tabor Galilee	10	30		49
Nahalal, Galilee	19	no data	50	45
Mishmar Ha’Emek, Galilee	37	no data	112	106
Hadera, the coast	5	38	75	64
Shechem, Samaria	-	62	75	133
Lod, Judea	19	45		106
Lachish, Judea	25	no data	103	158
Menasshe, Judea	27	64		137
Herodium, Judea	1	no data	15	46
Urim, Judea	-	-	59	120

Chart 3 ³¹

To this list can be added two surveys of Samaria; one carried out by Israel Finkelstein and Yitzhak Magen (1993, also as a part of the *ASI-project*), and the other by Zvi Lenderman and Shlomo Bunimovitz (1997) ³². Chart 4 shows yet again the same macro picture

³⁰ D. BAR, “Frontier and Periphery in Late Antique Palestine”, *GRBS* 44 (2004).

³¹ It should be noted that some of the surveys operate with a subdivision of the Roman period, namely an Early Roman period (63 BCE-70 CE) and a Late Roman period (70-324 C.E.).

³² I. FINKELSTEIN – Y. MAGEN, *Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country*

of a general increase in the number of settlements in Palestine during these periods.

	Hel. (332-63 BCE)	Rom. (63 BCE — 324 CE)	Byz. (324-641)
Samaria 1993	170	235	306
Samaria 1997, number of settlers	15.680	22.000	32.520

Chart 4

The final chart summarizes the most important survey for our purposes. Over a five year period, Uzi Leibner directed a team that systematically surveyed an area of 285 square kilometers west of the north-eastern part of the lake of Galilee with the objective of describing the developments in settlement density in the Hellenistic through Byzantine periods (300 BCE — 650 CE) ³³.

The importance of the survey stems from two facts: First, it is located in the heart of Lower Galilee, and, second, it offers a more refined picture by establishing what Leibner terms a “high resolution analysis” with relatively short sub-periods. Leibner thus distinguishes between an early Roman period lasting until 135 CE, a mid-Roman period lasting until 250 CE and, finally, a late Roman period (the Byzantine period is similarly divided into three).

The basis of this “high resolution analysis” is twofold. On the one hand, Leibner uses David Adan-Bayewitz’s detailed classification of Galilean pottery types ³⁴, and, on the other hand, the survey managed to collect a large sample of ceramics from each site; in total an average of 200, counting only identifiable shards.

Leibner arrived at the following results: In the Hellenistic period, settlements were “sparse” and, furthermore, proved to be “fortified sites

of Benjamin (Archaeological Survey of Israel; Jerusalem 1993); I. FINKELSTEIN – Z. LEDERMAN – S. BUNIMOVITZ, *Highlands of Many Cultures*. The Southern Samaria Survey. The Sites (Tel Aviv University Monograph Series 14; Tel Aviv, Israel 1997).

³³ Cf. LEIBNER, *Settlement*. Chart 2 summarizes the numbers given at p. 310 and 314.

³⁴ Cf. D. ADAN-BAYEWITZ, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee*. A Study of Local Trade (Ramat-Gan, Israel 1993).

located on hill-tops near valleys suitable for large scale cultivation”³⁵. In the early Roman period, however, a dramatic change took place with a “massive wave of settlement construction” now markedly unfortified and placed at “locations with no strategic value”³⁶. The rise in density is close to a hundred percent. In this respect, Leibner’s survey mirrors Frankel’s study of Upper Galilee and some of the *ASI*-surveys, in which the most significant growth was during the Roman period. In the mid-Roman period, however, Leibner encountered a slight fall in the number of settlement sites, followed by a more drastic decline from the late Roman period and onwards. In this respect, Leibner’s study differs from some of the others.

This new study is extremely important for our understanding of first-century Galilee. It is actually the first of its kind to offer such a thorough and detailed analysis, using Adan-Bayewitz’s fine-masked pottery classification. The basic thrust regarding the early Roman period is clear: an intensive effort was made to bring the rural area under the plow. The growth in this period therefore took place not only in the urban centers of Sepphoris and Tiberias, known from other excavations, but also in the rural parts of the region, as political circumstances allowed unfortified settlements on less-desirable tracts of land³⁷.

	Hel	100-50 BCE	50-1 BCE	1-50 CE	50-100 CE	100-150 CE	150-200 CE	200-250 CE	250-300 CE
Leibner, sites	26	22	40	40	37	39	39	38	32
Estimated settled area (dunams)	225-492	316-569	559-985	579-1015	544-962	652-982	656-1119	649-1099	508-882

Chart 5

³⁵ U. LEIBNER, “Settlement and Demography in Late Roman and Byzantine Eastern Galilee”, *Settlements and Demography in the Near East in Late Antiquity* (eds. A.S. LEWIN – P. PELLEGRINI) (Rome 2006) 114. Cf. LEIBNER, *Settlement*, 316, 319.

³⁶ LEIBNER, “Settlement and Demography”, 115. Cf. LEIBNER, *Settlement*, 333.

³⁷ Cf. also the survey by K. R. DARK, “Roman-Period and Byzantine Landscapes Between Sepphoris and Nazareth”, *PEQ* 140 (2008) 95.

To conclude this “survey of surveys”, the following may be noted: In all the surveys presented here, there is an unambiguous trend of growth in the settlement density in Galilee and other Jewish regions from the Hellenistic period and onwards until at least the late Roman period. There is no sign of decline in the first century.

It is important, however, to realize that the results of surveys should be treated with caution due to their broad time spans. They need to be complemented by proper stratified excavations, to which we will turn shortly.

3. *Land Ownership*

Connected to the issue of settlement patterns is the issue of land ownership, a highly contested topic in Galilean research.

Some claim that from the time of Alexander the Great and onwards, more and more land was aggregated under the crown. Large estates, *latifundiae*, were on the rise, farmed by a mix of day laborers, small-plot owners and even slaves, but owned by the tiny segment of rich elite living remotely in an urban setting as “absentee landlords”³⁸. Recently, John Kloppenborg has forcefully argued for this picture in his study, *The Tenants in the Vineyard*³⁹.

Others emphasize that the tension between the rich urban elite and the rural peasantry was a fact of life long before Alexander, as indicated by several pre-Hellenistic traditions⁴⁰, and that the sources do not paint a dramatically different picture of this balance during the Herodian period. In particular, it has been a trend in recent research on Herod the Great to depict his rule in a more positive light, stepping back from grand psychological descriptions based on Josephus’ at times colorful descriptions.

³⁸ Cf. eg. APPLEBAUM, “Economic Life”; APPLEBAUM, “Roman Province”; D.E. OAKMAN, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 8; Lewiston, NY 1986) and D.E. OAKMAN, *Jesus and the Peasants* (Eugene, OR 2008).

³⁹ J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *The Tenants in the Vineyard*. Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine (WUNT 195; Tübingen 2006).

⁴⁰ Cf. eg. M. GOODMAN, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, A.D. 132-212* (Totowa, NJ 1983) and Z. SAFRAI, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London 1994).

I will here briefly summarize what I have presented elsewhere in more detail, namely that the truth of the matter is that we have relatively few sources available that provide information on how this balance developed ⁴¹. If a sketch should be drawn, it seems to be the case that large estates in Palestine always occupied the better land of the plains, while, at the same time, independent or semi-independent small-plot farming took place in the more remote and less attractive plots of land ⁴².

The most important evidence of this duality comes from the Zenon papyri, where *PSI VI 554* in particular describes a situation implying both the existence of hired labor as well as independent farming of small plots ⁴³; from the Hefzibah stele, which also describes a situation implying royal land (βασιλική χώρα, cf. col. *IVa*, l.23) coexisting alongside of villages outside the jurisdiction of local rulers (cf. col. *IIIa*, l.13, ἀλλῶν κωμῶν) ⁴⁴; and from the excavations of large estates as well as minor villages ⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Cf. M.H. JENSEN, "Galilæa, jord og den historiske Jesus", *DTT* 71 (2008).

⁴² In this I am followed by David Fiensy, who concludes in a recent and detailed analysis of the available sources on the question of the presence of large estates in lower Galilee that only medium-sized estates existed in the early Roman phase: "Therefore, I would hesitate to affirm that the peasants were being overly exploited by increasingly wealthy persons. That social dynamic was perhaps developing slowly but not yet in full bloom" — D.A. FIENSY, "Did Large Estates Exist in Lower Galilee in the First Half of the First Century CE?" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL; New Orleans, LA 2009).

⁴³ Cf. col. *iii*, l.21-22: "for most of them [the hired workers] there were vineyards of their own, from where they had pressings" (ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἰδίους [ἀμ]πελώνας, ὅθεν εἶχον στέμφυλα). The papyrus was originally published in G. VITELLI – M. NORSIA, *Papiri greci e latini* (Firenze 1920) 6-9. For translation and discussion, see KLOPPENBORG, *Vineyard*, 359-364; X. DURAND, *Des Grecs en Palestine au III^e siècle avant Jésus Christ*. Le dossier Syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos (261-252) (*Cahiers de la Revue biblique* 38; Paris 1997) 151-157; V. TCHERIKOVER, "Palestine Under the Ptolemies", *Mizraim: Journal of Papyrology, Egyptology, History of Ancient Laws, and Their Relations to the Civilizations of Bible Lands IV-V* (1937) 45-53; FREYNE, *Galilee*, 157-161.

⁴⁴ The inscription was published in 1966 by Y.H. LANDAU, "A Greek Inscription Found Near Hefzibah", *IEJ* 16 (1966) 54-70.

⁴⁵ For rural villages, see below. Y. Hirschfeld's excavations of Ramat Hanadiv is a fine example of a large estate placed on the fringes of a fertile

One particularly important argument against my reading of the sources is found in J. Kloppenborg's newly published study of the terms used for a tenant (γεωργός, 'aris, colonus, Greek, Hebrew and Latin) and a day-worker (ἐργάτης, po'al, mercennarius). Kloppenborg seeks to demonstrate how these terms suddenly began to be used in the Hellenistic (LXX and the Zenon archive), early Roman (the Gospels and the letters found in Nahal Hever and Wadi Muraba'at), and middle Roman (the Mishnah) sources, which he takes to indicate a sudden increase in huge farms, landless day-laborers and tenants. The growth in estates produced a "debt spiral" that demoted the formerly free farmers to "a class of under-employed non-slave laborers (*ergatai*)"⁴⁶. In this, Kloppenborg utilizes the thesis of R. de Vaux, stating that while Mesopotamian culture had always included large estates, the ideal in Israel was the many small self-sufficient farms⁴⁷.

It must be conceded, on the one hand, that Kloppenborg's thorough study of the sources reveals how the central government was growing in the Hellenistic and Roman periods at the expense of the rural peasantry. On the other hand, I find the proposed implications of his semantic observation to be weakened by the fact that the case itself is present in texts that Kloppenborg himself dates from the 8th century B.C.E. down to around the exile, namely texts that explicitly mention hired labor, *sakir* (LXX: μισθωτός – Ex 12,45; Lev 19,13; 22,10; 25,6.40.50.53; Deut 15,18; 24,14; Job 7,1-2; 14,6; Isa 16,14; 21,16; Mal 3,5) and texts that even in graphic detail describe the elite's economic oppression of the poor (1 Sam 8,14; 1 King 21; Isa 5,8; Prov 28,8; Ez 18,8; 22,12; Mi 2,2; Neh 5,1-5).

valley (the Hanadiv valley) overseeing and controlling its fertile soil; (cf. Y. HIRSCHFELD, *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations*. Final Report of the 1984-1998 Seasons (Jerusalem 2000) 679-735, and Y. HIRSCHFELD, "Ramat Hanadiv and Ein Gedi: Property Versus Poverty in Judea Before 70", *Jesus and Archaeology* (ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH) (Grand Rapids, MI 2006) 384-392.

⁴⁶ J.S. KLOPPENBORG, "The Growth and Impact of Agricultural Tenancy in Jewish Palestine (III BCE-I CE)", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51 (2008) 60.

⁴⁷ R. DE VAUX, *Ancient Israel*. Its Life and Institutions (London 1961).

4. Rural Villages and Towns

As mentioned above, surveys need to be complemented by a perspective from actual excavations, and it is to this body of evidence that we now turn. Four excavations of villages or towns from Galilee and the Golan with first-century layers will be considered.

The settlements that I will briefly introduce here are Cana, Capernaum and Yodefat in Galilee and Gamla in the Golan. Of these, Yodefat and Cana are of special interest since their destruction during the Jewish War effectively sealed their first-century stratum ⁴⁸.

In order to measure the socio-economic pulse of these villages/towns, we must look for evidence of the following four points of focus: (a) enlargement or decline in the settlement perimeters, (b) signs of local industrial activity, (c) signs of public buildings, and (d) signs of stratified housing. Together, these four points of focus will provide another gauge on the socio-economic pulse of Galilee.

A detailed survey of these four settlements paints a picture of the rural areas without signs of decline in the early first century. On the contrary, there was an expansion supported by small-scale local industries.

(a) In Yodefat, evidence of olive oil, pottery, and textile production has been attested in the excavations. Further, the city expanded on the southern slope throughout the first century up until the war in 66. Most interesting is the discovery in the 1997 season of an upper-class area with an elite house where some of the beautiful frescoes in the geometric First Pompeian style are preserved ⁴⁹.

(b) The excavations at Cana likewise produced material evidence of a small village community in a steady process of expansion. Two public buildings were found, as well as evidence of small-scale industrial activity, including oil production, textile production and glass-blowing ⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ A longer treatment than is possible here can be found in JENSEN, *Herod Antipas*, 162-78.

⁴⁹ For Yodefat, see esp. M. AVIAM, "Socio-Economical Hierarchy and Its Economical Foundations in First Century Galilee: The Evidence From Yodefat and Gamla", *Flavius Josephus. Interpretation and History* (eds. J. PASTOR – M. MOR – P. STERN) (JSJSup 146; Leiden 2011) 29-38.

⁵⁰ Cf. e. g. D.R. EDWARDS, "Khirbet Qana: From Jewish Village to Christian Pilgrim Site", *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary* 49 (ed. J.H. HUMPHREY) (Portsmouth, RI 2002) III, 101-132.

(c) The excavations at Capernaum have painted a picture of a medium- to large-sized village consisting primarily of large living units. A public building was possibly found in the earliest stratum of the synagogue ⁵¹.

(d) Likewise, at Gamla, evidence was found of differentiated living units with several public buildings. The synagogue might be the best known public building, but it was not the only one. A commercial neighborhood was also discovered, including a large olive oil extraction plant, a flour mill and a street of shops. Though Gamla was outside the perimeter of Antipas' reign, the coins of Antipas outnumbered those of Philip, and there is a good reason to believe that activity involving both areas took place ⁵².

To sum up, this short 'survey of excavations' — which of course needs to be enlarged with all material available, including the exciting new excavations currently taking place in rural Galilee — provides us with another glimpse of the socio-economic pulse of rural Galilee. It is striking that the local villages and towns seemed to have been expanding and thriving in the same period as the two urban centers, namely Sepphoris and Tiberias, were also expanding. No general economic decline is attested.

5. *Specialization and Commerce*

The issue of small-scale industrial activity is particularly worthy of further consideration, as a number of archaeologists have argued for a certain pattern and level of commerce on this basis. We will briefly discuss the findings of three of these archaeologists.

Firstly, we have the seasoned Galilean archaeologist and excavator of Yodefat, Modechai Aviam, who argues in a recently published study that the inhabitants of this city "lived their lives between prosperity and simplicity, but not poverty" ⁵³. He supports this claim by pointing to the finds of a "wealthy quarter", a flour mill, an olive press, some luxurious artifacts, a very high number of clay loom weights indicating textile production and four pottery kilns.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. A. RUNESSON, *The origins of the synagogue: a socio-historical study* (Coniectanea Biblica 37; Stockholm 2001) 182-184.

⁵² Cf. eg. D. SYON – Z. YAVOR, "Gamla 1997-2000", *'Atiqot* 50 (2005) 1-35.

⁵³ AVIAM, "Socio-economical", 30.

Secondly, as already mentioned, the excavator of Cana, Douglas Edwards, argues for a profitable interplay between city and village in his most recent study tackling the 'political-economy-model' of M.I. Finley, which he finds all too one-sided in stressing that resources only went from village to city (the consumer city). Instead, Edwards argues for a more nuanced and reciprocal relationship, in which local entrepreneurs in the small villages also benefited from the "vibrant economic environment under Herod Antipas" ⁵⁴.

Thirdly, the foremost Galilean pottery expert, David Adan-Bayewitz, claims to have found material evidence supporting regional and inter-regional trade of pottery produced at local rural pottery centers in Galilee such as Kefar Hananya ⁵⁵. Adan-Bayewitz deduces two things from this fact. First, the economic interaction between city and village may have been reciprocal rather than 'parasitic' ⁵⁶. Second, the small-scale industrial activity was used to aid and support the self-sufficiency prevalent in rural areas. All in all it is his judgment that Galilee was a place where "important local industries flourished" ⁵⁷. It should be noted, though, that while Adan-Bayewitz's results are accepted by some, they are challenged by others ⁵⁸. In addition to Adan-Bayewitz's studies of locally produced Galilean pottery, I wish to highlight his most recent study of the Herodian oil lamp. On the basis of a large sample (176 fragments) and through the use of instrumental neutron activation and high-precision X-ray fluorescence analyses, Adan-Bayewitz and his team were able to determine the provenance of the fragments found at various Northern sites. The data

⁵⁴ EDWARDS, "Identity", 373.

⁵⁵ Through the use of neutron activation analysis, Adan-Bayewitz claims to have established a "site-specific manufacturing provenience to the majority of the common pottery" — D. ADAN-BAYEWITZ — M. WIEDER, "Ceramics From Roman Galilee: A Comparison of Several Techniques for Fabric Characterization", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 19 (1992) 189. See further ADAN-BAYEWITZ, *Common Pottery*, passim.

⁵⁶ Cf. D. ADAN-BAYEWITZ — I. PERLMAN, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period", *IEJ* 40 (1990) 171.

⁵⁷ ADAN-BAYEWITZ & PERLMAN, "Trade", 172.

⁵⁸ Cf. Sean Freyne: "These findings suggest a pattern of co-operation between the city and the villages in the hinterland that would appear to rule out any idea of tension between them" (FREYNE, "Culture", 602). For a different view, see, for example, R.A. HORSLEY, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*. The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis (Valley Forge, PA 1996) 72.

show that “the distribution of the Jerusalem-area and non-Jerusalem-area Herodian lamps was not random”⁵⁹. At sites known to be largely Jewish (Jotapata, Gamla and Sepphoris), most of the lamps were imported from Jerusalem, whereas the same type of lamp found at Gentile sites (Dora and Scythopolis) were mostly locally produced. A minor percentage was, however, of Jerusalemite origin. This suggests two things: The Jewish Galilean population preferred lamps from Jerusalem despite the extra cost of transportation, and that inter-regional trade took place to some extent. Thus, this new study confirms that trade and interaction were conducted between the various Jewish regions as well as between the Jewish and non-Jewish regions of the area.

Finally, in this connection, a recent study by Agnes Choi on pedology and soil distribution can be mentioned. By correlating a pedological map with material finds in rural excavations, Choi is able to argue for what she calls “economic rationalism”, which encapsulates how the ancient Galileans to a certain extent cultivated what grew best on their farming plots and relied on trade and markets in the cities to supply their other needs. Urban-rural relations were seemingly more reciprocal than has been argued from time to time⁶⁰.

6. *Differentiated Houses and Living Units*

One further way of measuring the socio-economic climate of rural Galilee is by considering the scale of domestic units encountered in rural settings. Do we encounter a poor, unified body of houses or a diversified picture pointing to social stratification even within the villages themselves? This would to some degree reveal whether funds were stored in the villages, or whether these areas were drained of those funds by absent plantation owners leaving nothing behind but a uniformly poor body of workers and peasants.

⁵⁹ D. ADAN-BAYEWITZ et al. (eds.), “Preferential Distribution of Lamps From the Jerusalem Area in the Late Second Temple Period (Late First Century B.C.E.-70 C.E.)”, *BASOR* 350 (2008) 77.

⁶⁰ Cf. A. CHOI, “Choosing a Speciality: An Investigation of Regional Specialization in Galilee” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Boston 2008). In this Choi utilizes the Central Place Theory of I. Hopkins; cf. I.W.J. HOPKINS, “The City Region in Roman Palestine”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 113 (1980) 19-32.

This is actually what was claimed in an article on family life in Galilee by S. Guijarro ⁶¹. According to Guijarro, 70-75% of the population were peasants or craftsmen living in single-room mud-brick houses, and he uses this as an argument for his view of a period of economic stress in Galilee. Guijarro derives these numbers from the models of the sociologists Sjöberg and Lenski, and the idea of mud-brick houses from an article by T. Canaan, which, in fact, describes Arab housing in the twentieth century ⁶².

Guijarro's picture is far too simplistic. At this time, we do not have sufficient material evidence to propose such solid numbers. In contrast, to my knowledge, every excavation in Galilee presents a diversified picture with respect to living quarters, as demonstrated by, for example, Y. Hirschfeld, P. Richardson and E. Meyers ⁶³. I take this as another indication of socio-economic stability, whereas a poor, simple, unified mass of housing would point in the direction of decline and debt.

7. Monetization

The issue of monetization has also been raised in the debate surrounding the socio-economic conditions, and some have claimed that Antipas initiated a rigid policy of minting in order to monetize the economy more profoundly so that taxes could be collected in coin rather than in kind ⁶⁴.

However, important new data have recently been collected by the Israeli archaeologist Danny Syon, who in his dissertation, dated 2004, has traced coin circulation in Galilee and the Golan throughout the

⁶¹ S. GUIJARRO, "The Family in First-Century Galilee", *Constructing Early Christian Families* (ed. H. MOXNES) (London 1997) 42-65.

⁶² T. CANAAN, "The Palestinian Arab House: Its Architecture and Folklore", *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 13 (1933) 1-83.

⁶³ Cf. Y. HIRSCHFELD, *The Palestinian Dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine Period* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 34; Jerusalem 1995); P. RICHARDSON, "Towards a Typology of Levantine/Palestinian Houses", *JSNT* 27 (2004) 47-68; E.M. MEYERS, "Roman-Period Houses From the Galilee: Domestic Architecture and Gendered Spaces", *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past* (eds. W.G. DEVER – S. GITIN) (Winona Lake, MI 2003) 193-220.

⁶⁴ Cf. e. g. W.E. ARNAL, *Jesus and the Village Scribes. Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q* (Minneapolis, MN 2000) 138.

Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. In total, 186 coin collections were catalogued, resulting in a database of nearly 10,000 identifiable coins.

In essence, Syon's investigation confirms in great detail what is also known from local excavation counts, namely that while "a dramatic change"⁶⁵ took place during the Hasmonean period, when Tyrian and Ptolemaic coins were substituted by Hasmonean coinage, only minor changes took place during the Herodian period. Neither Herod the Great's nor Herod Antipas' coinage made any real impact on the circulation.

To illustrate, it can be mentioned that while Syon counted 5,632 Hasmonean coins, only 723 coins from Herodian and Romans rulers were found.

Thus it is a serious exaggeration to claim that the Herodian rulers profoundly monetized the economy. Rather, they carried forward what already existed⁶⁶.

8. Taxes

Another factor that has often been presented as a background for the breakdown of the socio-economic stability during the Herodian regimes is the tax burden. Quite a number of scholars have argued for the existence of a system of triple taxation in the first century: imperial, Herodian and temple tax⁶⁷.

In a recent dissertation, F. Udoh has surveyed this issue afresh and arrives through detailed analysis of the textual sources at a different picture. First, he denies that an imperial tax was ever paid on a regular

⁶⁵ D. SYON, *Tyre and Gamla. A Study in the Monetary Influence of Southern Phoenicia on Galilee and the Golan in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Jerusalem 2004) 224.

⁶⁶ A thorough discussion of the coinage of this period can be found in M.H. JENSEN, "Message and Minting: The Coins of Herod Antipas in Their Second Temple Context As a Source for Understanding the Religio-Political and Socio-Economic Dynamics of Early First Century Galilee", *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (eds. J. ZANGENBERG – H. ATTRIDGE – D.B. MARTIN) (WUNT 210; Tübingen 2007) 277-314.

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g. APPLEBAUM, "Roman Province", 373 and R.A. HORSLEY, *Galilee. History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA 1995) 140, 215-217.

basis⁶⁸. He then argues for a much more lenient picture of Herod the Great than the one presented in what he describes as the old view of Herod. Instead of presuming that Herod's enterprises point to "crushing tax burdens"⁶⁹, Udoh claims from a chronological perspective that Herod financed his most expensive and lavish building projects only after new territories had been granted to him, providing him with much more personal wealth and income. Therefore: "The immensity of Herod's enterprises points not to crushing tax burdens, but rather to the prosperity of his realm and to his personal wealth"⁷⁰.

In conclusion, Udoh states:

The general view that excessive taxation of the Jewish state in the early Roman period was the cause of observable depravity in the first century C.E. is not supported by the evidence ... The arguments used to build an impression of continuous tax oppression and economic depravity in Palestine do not stand up to scrutiny. Palestine was not continually "oppressed" by three levels of ruinous taxes from 63 B.C.E. until the Revolt of 66 C.E.⁷¹

9. *Climate*

Finally, and all too briefly, I address the issue of climatic fluctuations, which has been the topic of some discussions in research. Yet again, we encounter highly conflicting opinions: on the one hand those who find evidence of frequent droughts and climatic instability leading to famine⁷², and, on the other, those who find that

⁶⁸ "The discussion of Jewish tax obligations to Rome under the Herods is hampered by the lack of evidence. There is nothing in Josephus's account of Herod's reign to suggest that his subjects paid tribute to Rome" — F.E. UDOH, *To Caesar What Is Caesar's*. Tribute, Taxes, and Imperial Administration in Early Roman Palestine (63 B.C.E.-70 C.E.) (Brown Judaic Studies 343; Providence, RI 2005) 118.

⁶⁹ UDOH, *To Caesar*, 190.

⁷⁰ UDOH, *To Caesar*, 190. According to Udoh, these new territories provided Herod with new ways of gaining revenue: "With these new territories, Herod had available to him the revenues derived not only from a tax base that extended beyond Judea, but especially from the estates and from tolls and duties collected in the cities and trade routes that he now controlled" (UDOH, *To Caesar*, 197).

⁷¹ UDOH, *To Caesar*, 285.

⁷² Cf. e. g. APPLEBAUM, "Economic Life", 691.

Galilee of all places provided the most stabile climate in Palestine supporting a large population on its fertile soil ⁷³.

In a fuller investigation, I concluded that Galilee indeed benefited from a more stable climate than any other region in Palestine with an average annual precipitation of approximately 600 mm, well above the 250 mm point marking the “aridity line”, though famines and crop failures were part of life in this region as witnessed in the OT, Josephus and in the NT ⁷⁴.

However, no indication of famine during the reign of Herod Antipas is found, and while this by no means excludes the possibility of such famines, there is no solid basis in the actual reports or in the general knowledge of the Galilean climate to support a bleak picture of the agricultural environments and possibilities in Galilee.

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As a point of departure for my final conclusion, an important caution must be stated, namely that when evaluating these gauges presented, a certain personal preference is embedded in each of them, tilting the final judgment to one side of the plausible spectrum. In other words, there is quite a bit of “grey area” between the “most optimistic” and the “most pessimistic” interpretations of the data, and all of this grey area falls within the plausible range of interpretation.

That being said, the overall synthesis of the material presented points in the direction of a first-century Galilee marked by stability — if not moderate growth — rather than rapid change and/or decline. This conclusion is based upon the following observations:

- (a) With respect to political history, it is noteworthy that while some changes were experienced up until the Herodian takeover, the following era — especially under Herod Antipas — was reportedly calm. Even Antipas’ building programs were modest in comparison with what is known elsewhere from the same period.
- (b) The many surface surveys reveal a consistent pattern of increase with regard to both the number of settlements and the size of the inhabited territory. Less attractive and defensible plots of land were cultivated.

⁷³ Cf. e. g. GOODMAN, *State*, 22, 83; FREYNE, *Galilee*, 16; M. AVI-YONAH, *The Holy Land. From the Persian to the Arab Conquests (536 B.C. To A.D. 640). A Historical Geography* (Grand Rapids, MI 1966) 203.

⁷⁴ Cf. JENSEN, “Droughts and Famines”.

(c) The question of land ownership and the balance between estates and small-plot farming is complex indeed. We know with certainty that an imbalance was in place granting all the better lowland tracts to the rich elite. There might have been an increase in this regard. On the other hand, this was a fact of life that was well-known even in earlier societies, including those of the pre-exilic Israelites and the Persian and Hellenistic Judaeans.

(d) At the same time, excavations thus far have revealed that at least some rural villages or towns were expanding right up until the war of 66.

(e) Further, excavators have found evidence of a certain amount of specialized fabrication facilities which suggests commerce and interaction.

(f) This further connects with the impression of the standard of the living units in the rural villages. The idea of “a uniform peasant” mudbrick house is not attested.

(g) Regarding monetization, the detailed study of D. Syon indicates that the standard bronze coinage remained Hasmonean during the Herodian period. No rapid change was introduced.

(h) A newly presented study of the tax system indicates the same. While the tax burden was undoubtedly perceived to be severe, it was not rapidly rising during the Herodian era.

(i) Finally, there is also no evidence indicating that first-century Galilee was struck by continuous droughts or generally suffered from an unpleasant or severe climate limiting agricultural productivity.

When these findings are applied to Scott’s conflict model, it should come as no surprise that I am compelled to conclude that, since rapid change cannot be attested to any notable degree, the socio-economic conditions of rural life were most likely stable, as well, from a relative perspective.

This leads me to my final conclusion, which is really a suggestion, namely that we need to broaden our conceptual approach in our description of ancient Galilee, re-introducing religious motivation as a driving force. While Mason may be correct in pointing out that the term “religion” is a modern concept at an etic level, religious motivation is present throughout our sources at an emic level ⁷⁵. Recent studies emphasize that the entire late Second Temple period saw a “burst” in

⁷⁵ Cf. S. MASON, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History”, *JSJ* 38 (2007) 457-512.

purity interests, affirming the later rabbinic traditions describing this period ⁷⁶. Though we should exercise extreme care not to depict this activity with modern individualistic terminology, it is nevertheless evident that what we would call “religious motivation”, whether of national-religious or traditio-religious sort, was widespread in first-century Palestine as evident in the Qumran texts, in the extensive use of stone vessels and *miqva’ot*, in the rigid observation of the ban against images, in Josephus’ writings, etc ⁷⁷. By incorporating this material more profoundly into the discussion, I suggest that we will get a more firm hold of the driving forces behind the emergence of the Jesus movement than what we have been able to obtain from the socio-economic investigations of its Galilean background.

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SUMMARY

Much research on the socio-economic conditions of Galilee in the Herodian period has argued for a rapid economic deterioration amongst the rural population. This is said to have resulted in a deadly spiral of violence prompting popular protest movements of which Jesus of Nazareth became the most renowned. Other investigations, however, paint a much more lenient picture of Galilee being under only a moderate development. This article outlines the problem at hand in the research, suggests a methodology for further development and applies this to new archaeological material emerging from excavations in Galilee and the textual material available.

⁷⁶ The most recent treatment of this issue can be found in Y. ARBEL, *Ultimate Devotion*. The Historical Impact and Archaeological Expression of Intense Religious Movements (London 2009).

⁷⁷ Cf. the discussion in M.H. JENSEN, “Socio-Economic and Socio-Religious Dynamics in Herod Antipas’ Galilee – A Holistic Approach” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, New Orleans 2009).

The Gospel according to John: The New Testament's Deutero-Deuteronomy?

There is an obvious parallel between the Fifth Book of Moses and the Fourth Gospel: each concludes the first, chief section of its testament in the Christian Bible, the Torah (or Pentateuch) and the Gospels, respectively. Beyond such a “firm grasp of the obvious”, however, is there more to be said about resemblances in how the two books function within the Old and New Testaments? This essay presses that question forward on two levels: (1) similarities in theological role that each plays within the larger canon of its testament (a resemblance that self-evidently extends outside of either book); and (2) similar themes, emphases, and attitudes within each book that contribute to parallel theological functions for the two books within their respective testaments.

I. The Significance of “Canonical Function”

What we aim to do and why in this first section was well articulated over twenty-five years ago by Harry Y. Gamble with respect to the New Testament, but in terms that apply with equal force to the Old:

The interpretation of the NT is normally understood to consist in the interpretation of the individual documents contained in it, studied in and of themselves and with a view to their generative contexts and inherent meanings, but with little or no consideration of their place within the canon. From a historical point of view this is a thoroughly legitimate approach, since the setting of these documents within the canon is secondary and has no direct bearing on the recovery of their original meanings. Nevertheless, this ought not to be confused (as it regularly is) with the interpretation of the NT as such, for the NT is something both more and different than the sum of its parts, and the meaning of the whole may not simply be equated with the cumulative meanings of its constituent elements. ... In the nature of the case, canonization entails a recontextualization of the documents incorporated into the canon. They are abstracted from both their

generative and traditional settings and redeployed as parts of a new literary whole; henceforth, they are known and read in terms of this collection. In this way their historically secondary context becomes their hermeneutically primary context ¹.

To be sure, Gamble's final assertion is controversial: James D. G. Dunn, for one, would argue that the "final author/composition level" must retain hermeneutical priority over the "canonical level" of reading the text ². Still in all, it suffices for present purposes to observe that, insofar as it makes any sense at all to speak of a "canonical context" (and I believe that Gamble's argument makes that case), there is value in considering what difference it makes that we do, in fact, have a collection of books in a certain order, and not merely a random roster ³.

A brief illustration of such "canonical effect" may be in order, as we look at the case of the NT books of Luke and Acts. There is little question that the author ⁴ intended the work as a two-part set, describing as a single narrative "the events that have been fulfilled among us" (Luke 1,1), specifically, "all that Jesus began to do and teach, until the day he was taken up" (Acts 1,1-2) and the spread of the Gospel through the work of the apostles empowered by the Holy Spirit. However, the separation of the two books by John and the inclusion of Luke with the "four-fold gospel" have served to detach Acts from this original purpose and have transformed it into the history of the early church that now links the gospels-section with the epistles-section (despite some early variation in its

¹ H.Y. GAMBLE, *The New Testament as Canon. Its Making and Meaning* (Philadelphia, PA 1985) 73, 75.

² J.D.G. DUNN, "Levels of Canonical Authority", *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 4 (1982) 13-60.

³ The point is made particularly clear as one compares the canons of the (Jewish) Hebrew Bible and the (Protestant Christian) Old Testament. The books included are the same. But as numerous scholars have observed, surely it makes a difference in how one reads the collection as a whole whether one ends that collection with Chronicles (and the Edict of Cyrus), as in the HB, or with Malachi (and the prophesied return of Elijah), as in the OT.

⁴ With the preponderance of scholarship, I speak here of the one "author" of Luke and Acts. However, see now P. WALTERS, *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts. A Reassessment of the Evidence* (SNTSMS; Cambridge 2008), for a dissenting view based on statistical analysis of prose compositional patterns.

canonical placement), particularly affecting (and being affected by) the reading of the letters of Paul ⁵. Likewise, with respect to Luke, Gerald T. Sheppard notes that it “does not claim to be a Gospel and is closest to a Hellenistic memoir” and that “John interrupts the two-volume Luke and Acts in order to mark more explicitly how Luke functions as a Gospel synoptically with the other three” ⁶. The practical result of this observation is to call into question the focus that “Luke-Acts” has received as an entrée into the theology of the NT, however legitimate such study may be for historical purposes.

II. External Factors in the Old and New Testaments that Contribute to the Canonical Functions of Deuteronomy and John

With these things said by way of introduction, we now turn to our main concern, the discernment of what effect the canonical placement of one particular book from each testament has had on its context, particularly insofar as the theological functions of the book within the canon of each testament display similarities ⁷.

⁵ The point regarding the linking function of Acts in the current canon is made by A.C. OUTLER, “The ‘Logic’ of Canon-making and the Tasks of Canon-criticism”, *Texts and Testaments. Critical Essays on the Bible and Early Church Fathers* (ed. W.E. MARSH) (San Antonio, TX 1980) 268. The mutual effects on Acts and the Pauline epistles are drawn out by B.S. CHILDS, *The New Testament as Canon. An Introduction* (Philadelphia, PA 1984) 239-240.

⁶ G.T. SHEPPARD, “Canonization: Hearing the Voice of the Same God through Historically Dissimilar Traditions”, *Int* 36 (1982) 30.

⁷ It is essential to note that we are not here engaged in an historical study of the formation of the OT and NT canons, a subject of extraordinary complexity and much dispute. Rather, it is the theological effect that is of present interest, however the canons came to be. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that both Deuteronomy and John interrupt the narrative flow in their respective canons (from Numbers to Joshua in the OT and, as just observed, from Luke to Acts in the NT) and effectively recapitulate prior material. Given the paucity of evidence regarding both the processes and the motives that underlay the formation of the canons, we can only observe that some kind of intentionality in placement seems to be at work here, whether or not there was conscious imitation of the OT in the NT. For a summary of the historical issues, see L.M. McDONALD, *The Biblical Canon. Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority* (Peabody, MA ³2007).

The selection of Deuteronomy and John for this study is by no means arbitrary, given the surface parallel noted at the outset, but the presence of additional similarities in canonical function is by no means self-evident, either. For one thing, their relationship to the preceding books appears to be radically different. Deuteronomy is temporally sequential to Genesis-Numbers and presents itself all-but-explicitly as a hermeneutical key to them: Moses relates the essentials of prior history and law to the generation that has come of age in the wilderness, who knew not the deliverance at the Sea, nor the making of the covenant at Sinai ⁸. John, by contrast, is temporally parallel to the Synoptic Gospels, with no overt commentary on them whatsoever ⁹. Indeed, if any Gospel makes explicit, internal claim to hermeneutical priority (despite Sheppard's aforementioned qualms about the book's original genre), it is surely Luke:

Since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us, just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word, I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the first, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may know the truth concerning the things about which you have been instructed. (Luke 1,1-4 NRSV — here and throughout, except as noted)

However, any claim to preeminence within the NT canon is thoroughly undercut by Luke's placement in the midst of the others, as but one-quarter of the "fourfold gospel".

So what is the relationship of John to the other three gospels? In general, commentators have held that the canon has established parity among all four: each is not the gospel "of" someone, but the gospel "according to" (κατά) someone (to cite the second-century superscriptions). The statement of Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. A.D. 180)

⁸ The point is made and developed by B.S. CHILDS in his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia, PA 1979) 224.

⁹ Indeed, there is a debate within NT scholarship over what acquaintance, if any, the author of the Fourth Gospel had with any of the other three. See D.M. SMITH, *John among the Gospels. The Relationship in Twentieth-Century Research* (Minneapolis, MN 1992). G. THEISSEN, *Fortress Introduction to the New Testament* (Minneapolis, MN 2003) 172, holds that "Gospels are presupposed in the Gospel of John, without being taken over as sources".

is often cited, in which he offers rationales from both nature and revelation as to why the Gospels must be four in number but gives no indication of subordination among the four¹⁰. For his part, Brevard S. Childs argues that “No one Gospel is made the hermeneutical key, as would have happened had John’s Gospel been constructed into an overarching framework [like the ‘Priestly source’ in Genesis] and the three Synoptics inserted into its story”¹¹.

Is John’s Gospel indeed but one of four witnesses to the one gospel, canonically speaking? There are indications to the contrary. John is obviously a qualitatively different sort of Gospel than the Synoptics (as implied by its exclusion from the latter group), differences that Clement of Alexandria explained, in a famous quotation recorded by Eusebius, by calling John the “spiritual Gospel” (πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον) by contrast with the other Gospels, which dealt with “external facts” (τὰ σωματικά, literally, “the things of the body”)¹². As Eduard Lohse notes, “the difference between John and the Synoptics certainly cannot be reduced to the formula somatic-pneumatic, for John also reports ‘somatic’ material, and the Synoptics by no means give up all claim to presenting the ‘spiritual’”¹³. Nevertheless, Clement’s description may prove helpful, as it points us toward an indisputable distinction, that in John “from the very beginning Jesus stands before the world as the one sent by God, and before his own as the Son of the Father”¹⁴.

But what are the specific external attributes, if any, that suggest parallels in how Deuteronomy and John function within their respective testaments? First, it is worth noting that Deuteronomy shares with John an obvious distinctiveness vis-à-vis the other books in its section of the canon that is not *ipso facto* a function of its placement among them. We have just rehearsed the early recognition of a qualitative difference between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel. Similarly, modern literary critical studies have isolated a “D” source in Deuteronomy that is all but absent from the amalgam of the three “JEP” sources to be found in Genesis through Numbers.

¹⁰ *Adv. haer.* 3.11.8-9.

¹¹ Childs, *NT as Canon*, 235.

¹² *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.7.

¹³ E. LOHSE, *The Formation of the New Testament* (Nashville, TN 1981) 169-170.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Here Childs makes our point *malgré lui*: no “overarching framework” corresponding to the “P” source is a prerequisite for John to serve a distinctive hermeneutical function among the Gospels; the model is already there in “D”¹⁵. Indeed, we may observe an historical development that is, to be sure, most likely coincidental, but that reinforces our point. The church’s early rejection of the alternative of a single, edited Gospel in Tatian’s *Diatessaron* bears intriguing resemblance to the refusal of the mysterious, likely exilic (or even post-exilic) final redactors of the Pentateuch to work the content of Deuteronomy into the Tetrateuch¹⁶.

Secondly, there is a fascinating parallel in the larger structure of the two testamental canons, as recognized by Sheppard:

Moreover, the potential of letting the theological views of a later period help define the meaning of earlier traditions is built similarly into the shape of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. In the former, the prophets whose books often predate the present Torah are, nonetheless, put after the Torah as though they are commentary on it. So, in the New Testament, the letters of Paul which were written before are placed after the Gospels as theological commentary on the same subject. If the Prophets are for Judaism in the shadow of the Torah, so Paul’s letters are placed in subordination to the rendering of the gospel through the narratives about Jesus¹⁷.

¹⁵ Whether or not John does indeed serve such a distinctive hermeneutical function, of course, remains to be determined.

¹⁶ The literature on the final formation of the Pentateuch is as vast as it is often speculative. A recent proposal that independently notes several of the same points of similarity with the Fourth Gospel that are brought out in this essay is by R. HESKETT, “Deuteronomy 29-34 and the Formation of the Torah”, *The Bible as a Human Witness to Divine Revelation*. Hearing the Word of God through Historically Dissimilar Traditions (eds. R. HESKETT – B. IRWIN) (London 2010) 32-50.

¹⁷ SHEPPARD, “Canonization”, 30. Indeed, one is tempted to press the structural parallel further still, to include the Former Prophets (or Historical Books) vis-à-vis Acts as (among other things) explicating how the Torah/Gospel played out in the early history of the community, the Latter Prophets vis-à-vis the Epistles (Paul *et alii*) as challenge and commentary on the Torah/Gospels in the community, and the Writings (especially Daniel) vis-à-vis Revelation as bringing an apocalyptic vision of the future to the Torah/Gospel in a community *in extremis*, under persecution. Still, however fascinating the resemblance in result may be, intentional imitation of the TaNaK structure on the part of the NT is, of course, a matter of pure speculation and, in any event, takes us beyond our present focus.

Indeed, we may add, “Torah” in Judaism and “Gospel” in Christianity came to connote the essence of the faith, despite their (relatively) late emergence as literary entities.

What has this second observation to do specifically with Deuteronomy and John? Besides reinforcing the centrality of the section of the canon in which each is found, even at the expense of chronological priority, the question of ordering among sections brings to the fore the issue of ordering within sections as of possible import. In this connection, recent studies of ordering in ancient literary collections suggest that there was indeed special — even corrective — significance to granting the “last word” to a given piece within a corpus¹⁸.

In sum, the placement of Deuteronomy and John within the Torah and Gospels, respectively, does appear to grant to each a distinctive and parallel role. But exactly what role? We turn now to look within the two books for assistance in making that determination.

III. Internal Factors in Deuteronomy and John that Contribute to Their Canonical Function

While the way in which a given book functions within the larger canon is, first and foremost, a matter external to the book itself, the books of the canon are not bricks whose canonical usage is merely a result of how they happen to be arranged *vis-à-vis* the others (much

¹⁸ Thus, P.A. ROSENMEYER, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions*. The Letter in Greek Literature (Cambridge 2001) 215, cites N. Holzberg’s observation that in ancient pseudonymous letter collections: “frequently the structure is that of gradual revelation of information that is explained fully by a longer explanatory letter at the end”. Within the NT, M.M. MITCHELL, “Corrective Composition, Corrective Exegesis: The Teaching on Prayer in 1 Tim 2,1-15”, *1 Timothy Reconsidered* (ed. K.P. DONFRIED) (Leuven 2008) 43, draws upon the work of A. Merz to assert: “The Pastoral Epistles (1 Timothy among them) represent a self-conscious attempt, not to replace the existing *corpus Paulinum*, but to enlarge it and interpret it”. It is particularly notable for our purposes that, elsewhere in the article, Mitchell argues that church fathers including Ignatius, Polycarp, Athenagoras, Origen, and John Chrysostom recognized this function of the Pastoral Epistles and even imitated their techniques in their own works. (I am grateful to Prof. C. ROTHSCHILD of Lewis University for calling both the Rosenmeyer book and the Mitchell essay to my attention).

as simple arrangement may contribute to such usage). Thus, we have posited, both Deuteronomy and John are qualitatively different from the preceding books in a way that sets them explicitly in a distinctive role. What therefore seems worth investigating next is whether there are internal commonalities between Deuteronomy and John that might contribute to such a role for both books, and particularly to honing our understanding of that role ¹⁹.

Since “canon” by definition entails the existence and effort of one or more communities of faith, we begin by looking into the role played by such a community in each of the two books ²⁰. In both cases the role of a mediator between God and people is crucial to the formation of the community in the first place: Moses stood between God and Israel as the terms of the covenant were revealed at Horeb (Sinai) (Deut 5,5), while much of Jesus’ “Farewell Discourse” in John (13,31–16,33), together with the immediately following “High Priestly Prayer” (John 17), places Jesus explicitly in the role of intermediary between God and

¹⁹ Nothing in the discussion that follows should be construed to suggest that John draws solely or even particularly upon Deuteronomy among the books of the Torah, or that John is distinctive among the Gospels in its use of Deuteronomy. Indeed, John’s very first verse is taken from Genesis, and we concede readily that John is heavily dependent especially upon Exodus for the Gospel’s pervasive Name theology (cf. Exod 3,14-15; 34,6-7 *vis-à-vis* John’s ἐγὼ εἰμί sayings) and for its stress upon the “tabernacling” of God with humanity in the Logos (cf. Exod 25–31, 35–40 *vis-à-vis* John 1,14). Rather, we are interested in seeing what internal commonalities, if any, specifically contribute to a parallel canonical role between the two books.

²⁰ In the case of John, of course, much has been written about a “community of the Beloved Disciple” or the like that produced the book — e.g., R. BROWN, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*. The Lives, Loves, and Hates of an Individual Community in New Testament Times (New York 1978). Whatever the merits of this hypothesis (and they are many), the focus of our attention is on the larger, more enduring “community of faith” that took individual works like John and incorporated them into something larger, the canon. However, the “Johannine community” hypothesis in particular remains significant for us, insofar as such a community’s sense of self may have contributed some of the features internal to the Gospel to be detailed in this section that, in turn, arguably contributed to the book’s larger, canonical role. On the other hand, there has been vast speculation (and a literature to match) about the “Deuteronomists”, especially in view of their theorized impact on the Former Prophets, Jeremiah, and other OT books. However, they are not usually described in terms of a “community” along the lines of those whose “lives, loves, and hates” underlie the Fourth Gospel.

his followers ²¹. Moreover, the formation and existence of both communities is credited to the word of God (Deut 4,9-13; John 14,22-24), and the word is in both cases described as life-giving in specific contrast to mundane bread (Deut 8,3; John 6,27).

Arguably more significant for our purposes than the books' descriptions of the origins of the communities, however, is their explicit assumption that the communities will continue into the indefinite future. This assertion is conveyed in a couple of different ways. Both books employ the theological device of "re-presentation" (or "actualization"), thereby directly weaving future generations into their text. Thus, in Deuteronomy Moses addresses the wilderness generation as if they had been present at the mountain of God and had there bound themselves in covenant with God. Deuteronomy's Moses goes so far as to spout historical nonsense: "Not with our fathers did the LORD make this covenant, but with us, who are all of us here alive this day" (Deut 5,3 RSV). The point is pellucid: every generation is to see itself as present and participating in the formative events of the community. For its part, John's Gospel is even more direct. In his "High Priestly Prayer" Jesus intercedes "not only on behalf of these [here present], but also on behalf of those who will believe in me through their word" (John 17,20), i.e., all future generations — again stressing also the role of the "word" bringing the community to be, only on a continuing basis. And it is, of course, John who most famously identifies the formative mediator with the Word (Λόγος) of God and who testifies that "we" most truly know God through that Word (John 1,1.14.18).

Rhetorically, this forward trajectory is notably enhanced by the device of second-person address, thereby pulling the later reader into the implied audience. In Deuteronomy such address is found throughout the book (except for the final four chapters) in the book's sermonic form (to be sure, alternating between second person singular and plural). By contrast, it is very nearly at the

²¹ A. LACOMARA, "Deuteronomy and the Farewell Discourse (Jn 13:31–16:33)", *CBQ* 36 (1974) 67-84, spells out extensively the parallels between Deuteronomy and the "FD", beginning with the respective roles of Moses and Jesus as mediator. Similarly, T.F. GLASSON's study, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel* (SBT; London 1963) 75, finds "recurring" Deuteronomistic language in John, particularly in the Farewell Discourse — no great surprise, given that Deuteronomy is an extended version of a farewell discourse itself.

book's end (indeed, likely enough in the final verse of the Gospel's original form) that John employs the same device:

Now Jesus did many other signs in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book. But these are written so that *you* [pl.] may come to believe ²² that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name. (John 20,30-31; emphasis added)

It is surely no accident that these words follow immediately on an only slightly more indirect appeal to the future reader from within the community of faith, as Jesus tells Thomas, "Have you believed because you have seen me? Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have come to believe" (John 20,29).

Further, while both books explicitly reach forward to future members of the faith communities whose creation the books describe, they also include the converse dynamic: a call to believers (present and future) to view remembrance as the key to spiritual insight. Even at a lexical level, the verb זָכַר, especially in its second-person forms, is found in Deuteronomy with a frequency exceeded only in the Psalms and rivaled only in Second Isaiah ²³. B.S. Childs notes that זָכַר often occurs in parallel with בִּין ("to understand"), as in Deut 32,7, and he summarizes Deuteronomic usage of remembrance as follows:

[Israel's] history continues only as present Israel established her continuity with the past through memory. The divine commands as event meet each successive generation through her tradition calling forth a decision, and in obedience Israel shares in the same redemption as her forefathers ²⁴.

²² There is, to be sure, a significant textual variant here: some authorities read the aorist subjunctive (cf. NRSV "so that you may come to believe", above); others read the present subjunctive (cf. RSV "so that you may believe"). The former might well suggest a missionary intent, while the latter could be a call to perseverance among those who already believe. If R. BROWN, *The Gospel according to John (xiii-xxi)* (AB 29A; Garden City, NY 1970) 1056, is correct in his preference for the latter, this summative verse would represent one more parallel with Deuteronomy, in that both would be directed to those already in the community of faith ("you"), both now and in the future.

²³ S. MANDELKERN, *Concordantiae Veteris Testamenti Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (Leipzig 1896) 353-355.

²⁴ B.S. CHILDS, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* (SBT 37; Naperville, IL 1962) 53, 56.

As for the Gospel according to John, while vocables related to remembrance are far less frequent than in Deuteronomy, the concept still plays a crucial role. John tells us that the disciples regularly understood what Jesus was saying or doing only as they later remembered the Scriptures and/or Jesus' "word" (n.b., placed on the same level) following his "glorification" (his crucifixion, perhaps considered together with his resurrection and ascension, according to Johannine theology [12,23]) (John 2,22; 12,16). Further, his Upper Room discourses contain both commandments to remember (John 15,20; 16,4) and a promise that the Advocate (παράκλητος) will help his followers to do just that (John 14,26).

To summarize our reflections on internal factors to this point: while internal components of a biblical book by definition cannot determine the theological effects of incorporation into a canon, both Deuteronomy and John exhibit a conception of word and community that lends to each a proclivity toward a continuing, distinctive canonical role. Specifically, these include a view of the word of God as the effective force by which the community of faith is constituted and sustained over time, as well as the ongoing imperative of remembrance for the later community's understanding of its place in the divine economy. Such communities would, indeed, be in a position to recognize as authoritative for themselves a collection of works that would grant special hermeneutical place to parts that place in the foreground these very points.

However, our consideration of internal factors need not content itself with an examination of what Deuteronomy and John say about the community of faith *per se*. In addition, we may ask whether they share any similarities in perspective on the wider world that might contribute to their potential to serve in distinctive and similar ways within their respective canons. In both cases, in fact, location — both physical and social — plays an important role in the understanding of the community.

The physical location of Deuteronomy is on the plains of Moab, east of the southern end of the Jordan River, before it empties into the Dead Sea. John's Gospel is not so delimited, but it does place the outset of Jesus' public ministry explicitly east of the Jordan and toward the southern end thereof (John 1,28; 3,22-26) ²⁵. In sum, physical

²⁵ Thereby forever frustrating Holy Land tour guides, who must deal with the accounts in Matthew (3,13) and Mark (1,9), which suggest a Galilean

location does not represent a parallel between Deuteronomy and John, but there is an overlap: Jesus' ministry is launched from the locus of the end of Moses' work. Raymond Brown suggests a resultant parallel in John between the entrances of Jesus and Joshua into the Land ²⁶; even if correct, this thesis by no means excludes the possibility that John sees Jesus picking up where Moses left off (taking "where" in its most literal sense), thereby reiterating his theme of Jesus as the fuller and truer revealer of God's own heart (John 1,17-18).

A second shared location is (strange as it may sound) both there and not there in both books: Jerusalem. Deuteronomy 12,5 famously directs that Israelite worship be centralized at "the place that the LORD your God will choose out of all your tribes as his habitation to put his name there" (cf. 12,11; 14,23; 16,2.6.11; 26,2). There can be no serious doubt that, given any critical dating of the book's composition, Jerusalem is clearly in mind as at least the chief and eventual place. Similarly, in John's Gospel Jesus finds himself in Jerusalem far more often than in the other gospels (so that the very idea of a three-year ministry is based on John's testimony to three Passover celebrations there). Yet Deuteronomy never explicitly names Jerusalem, and, for his part, John's Jesus tells the Samaritan woman at the well that Jerusalem is the place of right worship, but not the ultimate place, nor is the temple cult there the final mode (John 4,21-24). As we will see, this sense of penultimacy — of "yes, but there's more" and of "implied, but not named" — will feature in additional parallels yet to be discussed below.

Thirdly, lying somewhere between the literal and figurative senses of "location" is a looming sense of alienation from treasured places in both books. Deuteronomy — at least in its final form — includes especially toward its end a number of threats that point to exile from the land of promise as a consequence of violation of the covenant (e.g., 28,36.41.63-68; 29,27 [ET v. 28]). For its part, as many scholars have observed, John's Gospel appears to reflect a time in the late first century when members of at least one community within the "Jesus movement" were in active danger of expulsion from the Jewish synagogue (9,34; 12,42) ²⁷.

(northern) location for Jesus' baptism, respectively, "at" (ἐπί) or "in" (εἰς) but not "beyond" (πέραν) the Jordan.

²⁶ R. BROWN, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii)* (AB 29; Garden City, NY 1966) 44.

²⁷ Thus, a significant difference must also be conceded: Deuteronomy fore-

Moving to “location” in a still more figurative (yet related) sense, the similarities between the two books become even more apparent. Both Deuteronomy and John employ stark, bipolar construals of reality involving the community’s self-identity. In Deuteronomy the community is called to exclusive devotion to YHWH (most famously in the Great Shema, Deut 6,4), and the corollary of its choice is either life or death (Deut 30,15-20). From the outset, John’s Gospel contrasts life/light with darkness and therefore death (John 1,4-5); indeed, Jesus himself is light (John 8,12), so that to reject him is to be blind (John 9,40-41). Both books delineate clearly between those who are in the community and outsiders, whether they be denominated “the nations” (especially of the Canaanite variety) in Deuteronomy or “the Jews” (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) in John.

What, then, does our consideration of the issue of location (broadly construed) in Deuteronomy and John contribute to the discussion? First, as already noted, the overlap in how physical locations are mentioned and treated establishes a distinctive link between the two books that reasonably leads one to ask where else they might share similarities. More to the point, the uncompromising insistence upon fidelity to the words and voice of this mediator (Deut 5,5.22-33; John 8,31-32; 10,27) and the explicit boundaries set around this community lend to these books an inclination toward what might pejoratively be termed “triumphalism” *vis-à-vis* others and the works of others. Indeed, both books claim a finality that seems intent on excluding the need for further revelation or mediators. Deuteronomy asserts after Moses’ recitation of the “ten words” that “he [YHWH] added no more” (5,5), and it asserts at the conclusion of the book that “Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face” (34,10) ²⁸. Similarly, the final edition of the Fourth Gospel concludes:

sees loss of “location” and oppression from outside of the community only as a consequence of unfaithfulness to YHWH (Deut 28,15-68), while John anticipates them as the result of faithfulness to Jesus (John 15,18-25). We may fairly attribute this difference, I believe, to the internal factors that generated the two books. It is the resultant loss of place and (as discussed immediately below) the “we/they” dynamic that invite our present attention.

²⁸ Even Moses’ famous promise in Deut 18,15 (“The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own people”) does not undercut Moses’ primacy: such a future prophet will be authentic simply because he is like Moses.

This is the disciple who is testifying to these things and has written them, and we know that his testimony is true. But there are also many other things that Jesus did; if every one of them were written down, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be written (21,24-25)²⁹.

Further, as to the finality of mediators, there is even a verbal overlap between the final encomium to Moses in Deut 34,10-12 and the “first ending” to John in 20,30-31 (discussed above), as these summative texts cite as their first point of evidence both Moses and Jesus as performers of “signs” (Heb. הַאֲוֹתוֹת; LXX and N.T. σημεῖα)³⁰.

Finally (with respect to our examination of internal characteristics of Deuteronomy and John), we may observe a note of mystery at the conclusion of each. While, as noted, there is heavy emphasis throughout both on the unique significance of the one mediator between God and the community, both seem to go out of their way to de-emphasize the identity of the author, albeit in somewhat different ways. In the case of Deuteronomy, while the preponderance of the book clearly claims to be Moses’ very words, he is not described as the book’s author (unless that is how one takes הַתּוֹרָה in Deut 31,9.24), and the account of his death in the final chapter has always bedeviled attempts to attribute authorship to him³¹. In the instance of John, one is left with something of a Russian *matryoshka* doll. As early as John 1,14, the author’s presence is explicit (via “we”), and his identity is disclosed in John 21,24, as the “beloved disciple”, “who is testifying to these things and has written them”³².

²⁹ Indeed, at points such as this John’s Gospel verges on positing a parallel between Moses and the beloved disciple as revelators of God — understandable enough, given the Gospel’s claim from the outset that Jesus not only reveals God (John 1,18) but is God (John 1,1; 5,18; 10,30). On the matter of the sufficiency claims of the Gospel’s ending, see also John 20,30-31 (discussed above), which likely represents the original ending to the Fourth Gospel and which also simultaneously claims that much more could be (and has been?) written, but that the reader has in hand what is true and essential.

³⁰ Neither Deuteronomy nor John goes quite so far as Rev 22,18-19 in explicitly cursing anyone who adds or takes away from their contents, but both seem quite clearly to be saying: “This is all, and this is enough”.

³¹ The most extreme example of an attempt to deal with this problem is surely that of Josephus (*A.J.* 4.8.48), who holds that Moses was inspired to write the account of his own death.

³² Indeed, the authority of the “beloved disciple” as the human authority

Yet the immediately preceding verses suggest that the disciple is dead, at least as the final verses are written (John 21,23), and the last two verses distinguish between that disciple and both “we” and “I”. The upshot is to undermine authority as devolving from authorship and to deflect it to the books’ words and characters (chiefly, the mediators Moses and Jesus) — precisely the kind of “move” to be expected, as the canonical process inevitably underlines the authority of the written text.

IV. John as the New Testament’s Deutero-Deuteronomy

What, then, do we make of these external and internal parallels, taken together? A longstanding Christian reading of the Fourth Gospel would argue for seeing in it a “canon within the canon” vis-à-vis the other gospels. Thus, Martin Luther wrote: “John’s Gospel is the one, tender, true, chief Gospel, far, far to be preferred to the other three and to be placed high above them”³³. In the modern era, Adolf von Harnack went so far as to argue that either John itself or the canon was seeking to supplant the other Gospels³⁴.

If anything, the numerous parallels that we have seen between Deuteronomy and John *vis-à-vis* the Torah and Gospels would argue against such an extreme construal of the role assigned by the canonical

behind the text is reminiscent of Moses’ authority in Deuteronomy. And within the narrative, the beloved disciple’s intermediary role on behalf of the community of disciples with Jesus (cf. John 13,23-24) calls to mind Moses’ standing between Israel and God in Deut 5,5 and often elsewhere in the book.

³³ *What Luther Says* (ed. E.M. PLASS) (St. Louis, MO 1959 [Ger. orig. 1522]) II, 988. See similarly J. CALVIN, *Commentary on the Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids, MI 1949 [Lat. orig. 1553]) I, 22.

³⁴ A. VON HARNACK, *The Origin of the New Testament* (New Testament Studies VI; London 1925) 72-73. Just short of this view (and writing nearly forty years earlier), F.C. BAUR, *The Church History of the First Three Centuries* (London 1878) 1:24-25, cited in R. MORGAN, “The Hermeneutical Significance of the Four Gospels”, *Int* 33 (1979) 385, stated: “If it be assumed that the four gospels agree with each other and are capable of being harmonized, the absolute importance which the Gospel of John assigns to the person of Jesus must determine our whole view of the Gospel history Whenever the first three gospels disagree with the fourth, the authority of the latter must be held to be decisive”.

process to either book. The reality is far more nuanced. If anything, it is Deuteronomy that explicitly stands as supplement and commentary on the preceding books, but not as their replacement. Indeed, tensions remain, e.g., as regards the rationale for the Sabbath (Exod 20,11 vs. Deut 5,15) and the reason for Moses' inability to enter the Promised Land (Num 20,12 vs. Deut 1,37; 3,26; 4,21), but they remain unresolved and without warrant for supersession on the part of the final volume. Similarly, as noted above, the distinctiveness of John vis-à-vis the Synoptics has been obvious since the early church, as have the tensions between (and among) them. Yet far from leading either to an amalgam (*à la* the *Diatessaron*) or to a "canon within the canon", the church produced the "fourfold Gospel", as we have already observed³⁵. Otherwise put, even if one would extend Childs's descriptor "hermeneutical key" to John as well as Deuteronomy, "key" does not mean "trump card".

In fact, the foregoing study leads us to a more modest proposal. What Deuteronomy and John share above all else, canonically speaking, is a Janus-like bidirectionality (if one may be excused a "pagan" simile in these circumstances): both are deeply concerned to relate the events of the past and their core meanings especially for the sake of future iterations of their faith communities. As to the past, we noted above the stress on the significance of remembrance of the past events that are related in the two books, not to the exclusion of what is told in the preceding works, but with special stress on the adequacy and completeness of what is related in these

³⁵ D.M. SMITH, "Toward a Canonical Reading of the Fourth Gospel: Canonical Readings from Clement of Alexandria through Abraham Lincoln to Rudolf Bultmann and C.H. Dodd", *The Fourth Gospel in Four Dimensions. Judaism and Jesus, the Gospels and Scripture* (Columbia, SC 2008) 210-219, esp. 218; repr. from *What is John? Readers and Readings of the Fourth Gospel* (ed. F.F. SEGOVIA) (Atlanta, GA 1996) 169-182, argues cogently that it would be preferable for a canonical reading of the Gospels to be bi-directional, viz., reading John in light of the Synoptics, as well as vice versa (see also his "Four Gospels and the Canonical Approach to Exegesis: Should Their Being Together in the New Testament Make a Difference in Their Interpretation?", *The Fourth Gospel*, 194-209). At the same time, to be sure, Smith concedes that the balance is at least strongly tilted toward John as the interpretive lens in the historic practice of the community of faith that reads these books as Scripture.

two volumes. To be sure, one may argue, the very process of a community's declaring any given work to be "Scripture" lends to that work a continuing relevance and authority. Yet with particular reference now to future usage, these two books — uniquely within the Torah or Gospels — explicitly and intentionally reach out via a variety of devices to address and draw in the people of God of all times and places. The fruit of both their content and their placement within their larger canons is the kind of enduring special status that both have enjoyed (and even seen exaggerated, both in modern scholarship, such as the so-called "pan-Deuteronism", and by more traditional voices, such as Luther on John). It is surely no accident that a young Galilean Jew got through his time of testing by quoting thrice from Deuteronomy (Matt 4,4//Luke 4,4 from Deut 8,3; Matt 4,7//Luke 4,12 from Deut 6,16; Matt 4,10//Luke 4,8 from Deut 6,13), nor that the Christian canon's final, proleptic vision is deeply enough influenced by the Fourth Gospel as to have led the tradition to assign it to the same author. The upshot is that these books intentionally speak in a way that is rivaled only by the OT Psalms (with their own constant use of first/second person dialogue and their fascinating dialectic of human words now heard as Scripture) as the *viva vox Dei* to future generations of the faithful.

Similarly, as the reader moves back and forth between explicit presentations of past event and present appropriation, both books create a sense of "now/not yet" that is unique — at least in degree, if not kind — within their sections of the canon (but certainly found also in the prophets of the OT and Pauline epistles in the NT; cf. Isa 43,18-21; Phil 3,13-14)³⁶. My claim is not that there is no sense of eschatology elsewhere (particularly in the Synoptic Gospels), only that the constant, explicit juxtaposition of past event, present call, and future promise combined with direct address creates a distinctive tension (and sense of openness) for the reader of Deuteronomy and John.

Lastly, and at the risk of ending as we began (with a "firm grasp of the obvious"), in both their placement and in their content Deuteronomy and John are characterized by an emphasis on finality, in both a temporal and theological sense. If Deuteronomy is set historically as the capstone to the Pentateuch, then we know that John's

³⁶ With reference to Deuteronomy, CHILDS, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 222, speaks of "a people caught in between the moment of election and realization".

composition is historically subsequent to the other Gospels (albeit parallel in temporal content). As noted above, both books get in the “last word” (which, as we have seen, may in itself be significant within an ancient collection). Further, both elevate their mediators (Moses and Jesus Christ) to incomparable status and hold their word (and, in the case of John’s Jesus, his being as Word) to be all that one needs to know going forward. Thus, in something of an irony, these volumes that are so deliberately open to the future close their respective sections of the canon with a clang.

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SUMMARY

The article examines parallels in canonical function between Deuteronomy and John. Following clarification of the significance of “canonical function”, the essay investigates first external parallels between the two books that impact their reading especially within their sections of the OT and NT. It then looks at internal components of the books that contribute to their larger canonical role, with especial attention paid to the role of the future community as implied readership, rhetorical devices, location, and claims of final authority and sufficiency. The article concludes with a proposal regarding ways in which the two books do, indeed, function within their testamental canons in like ways.

ANIMADVERSIONES

The Baal Peor Episode Revisited (Num 25,1-18)

I. Literary context

The Baal Peor episode (Num 25,1-18) takes place at a critical juncture in the narrative traditions about early Israel. According to the wilderness itinerary in Numbers 33 the site of the event, Abel Shittim (*haššitīm*, “the Acacias”) in the plains of Moab, is the last stop before Canaan (Num 33,49). It was from there that the spies were dispatched (Josh 2,1) and the crossing of the Jordan undertaken (Josh 3,1). It is also critical in marking the final disappearance of the first generation out of Egypt, following successive chastisements and purges of which the last is described in this episode. The fate of Zimri and Cozbi, of those executed for consorting with Moabite women, and the 24,000 who died of the plague, marked the final link in a process of purification by elimination. It began with the diseased and otherwise unclean persons who suffered the social death of exclusion from the community (Num 5,1-4), others died at Tabera (11,1-3), others again were victims of plague (11,4-34; 14,37), the rebels Dathan, Abiram and Korah were disposed of by a precisely engineered earthquake (16,31-34), and, finally, complaints about these fatalities resulted in another plague and infestation by poisonous snakes (16,41-50; 21,4-9). For Hosea, Baal Peor also seems to have been the turning point. The Israelites “consecrated themselves to a thing of shame”, and from that point on everything went wrong (Hos 9,10; cf. Jer 2,1-8) ¹. That Baal Peor marks the break between the wilderness generations is made unmistakably clear by the census taken in the same location, the plains of Moab, immediately after the plague brought to an end by the violent intervention of Phineas (Num 26,1-65). This second census concludes with the statement that not one of those listed in the earlier census at Sinai appears in it except Caleb and Joshua. All but these two perfervid zealots for Yahweh had died and left their bones in the wilderness (Num 26,63-65; cf. Deut 1,34-40) ².

Peor, or Baal Peor, or Beth Baal Peor (the shrine of the local Baal), in the plains of Moab, the geographical point of the break between the generations, is also the place where the second generation receives

¹ For a different view on the Baal Peor episode in Hosea see G.R. BOUDREAU, “Hosea and the Pentateuchal Traditions: The Case of the Baal of Peor”, *History and Interpretation. Essays in Honor of John H. Hayes* (eds. M.P. GRAHAM et al.) (JSOTSS 73; Sheffield 1993) 121-132.

² The structural importance of the two censuses is a major theme for D.T. OLSON, *The Death of the Old and the Birth of the New. The Framework of the*

instructions in preparation for living in the land west of the Jordan which they are about to cross. These instructions occupy most of the rest of Numbers beginning immediately after the census, and they are promulgated “in the plains of Moab by the Jordan opposite Jericho”. (See the inclusive verses 26,63 and 36,13). They are interrupted only by the command to Moses to prepare for death followed by the investiture of Joshua (27,12-23), the war of extermination against the Midianites (31,1-54), and the wilderness itinerary which also ends “in the plains of Moab” (33,1-49). The instructions cover such widely diverse matters as boundaries, Levitical and sanctuary cities, homicide, manslaughter and inheritance rights. The affinity between these and their counterpart in Deuteronomic legislation covering similar topics is unmistakable. The Deuteronomic prescriptions are explicitly described as belonging to a second law, and therefore a law for a new generation in a new situation (Deut 1,5; 28,69). It is explicitly stated that they are promulgated in Moab, opposite Beth Peor, therefore in the same region as the Baal Peor incident, and on the eve of the crossing of the Jordan (Deut 3,29; 4,46).

The relation between this Deuteronomic material and Numbers has not proved easy to parse out in detail, and I do not intend to undertake that task here. For the moment, it will suffice to say that there is broad agreement that the version in Numbers was written to address those who, under Persian rule, aspired to make a new beginning and set up a new polity in the province of Judah, one which would enable them to come to terms with, and thereby overcome, the history of failure narrated by the Deuteronomistic Historian and reflected in the incidental and fictionalized narrative preserved in Numbers. It is not surprising therefore that much of the narrative and instructional material in Numbers addresses such pragmatic issues as community organization, property rights, status, especially of Aaronid priests and Levites ³, nor that conflict is so much more in evidence in Numbers than in parallel versions of episodes in the Exodus wilderness narrative. Arguably the most important of these issues dealt with community and ethnic boundaries, and therefore the control of marriage. But all of them reflect concerns of those in *y^ehūd m^edintā* who were actively and contentiously engaged in forging a new identity.

Book of Numbers and the Pentateuch (BJS 71; Chico, CA 1985); Id., “Negotiating Boundaries: The Old Generations and the Theology of Numbers”, *Int* 51 (1997) 229-240.

³ In particular, the legitimacy of the Aaronid priesthood which we know to have been in dispute at the time of writing, is reflected in various episodes in Numbers (17,16-27; 18,1-32) including the “perpetual priesthood” promised to Phineas at Baal Peor (25,10-13). Also relevant to this theme is Aaronid opposition to attempts by Levites to share the privileges of the priesthood (16,1-17,15).

While the affinity between these two bodies of material — Numbers and texts of Deuteronomistic inspiration not confined to the book of Deuteronomy — is fairly uncontroversial, the same cannot be said for the question of relative chronology. There appears, however, to be a growing consensus that much of the narrative and instructional material in Numbers belongs to a late stage in the incremental and cumulative process which resulted in the Pentateuch, certainly a later stage than the redaction of the bulk of the Deuteronomic material ⁴. Many would also agree that much of this narrative and instructional material appears to be derivative from and supplementary to P rather than part of P^G. Among the more obvious indications are lists of mandatory offerings to the sanctuary additional to those in Leviticus (chapters 7,19,28), the delayed Passover for those ritually unclean (Num 9,1-14), and the progressive reduction of the minimum age for entry into the Levitical order as the range of functions and tasks assigned to Levites increase. The age is progressively lowered from thirty (Num 4,3.23.30; 1 Chr 23,3.25) to twenty-five (Num 8,24), and finally to twenty (Ezra 3,8; 1 Chr 23,24-27; 2 Chr 31,17).

II. Sources and composition

The Baal Peor episode is therefore a central point in the temporal and spatial co-ordinates of Israelite origins, perhaps even the Archimedean point in the formation of the narrative content of the Pentateuch. Coming now to the episode itself: the account of what transpired at Baal Peor has been read routinely as a combination of two incidents: the first, an early J or JE account of Israelites seduced by Moabite women to join in the Baal Peor cult, often thought to be accompanied by orgiastic rites (25,1-5); the second, a report, marked by priestly language and themes, about a liaison between Zimri, a Simeonite chieftain, and Cozbi, daughter of a distinguished Midianite clan leader, followed by the swift retribution visited on this unfortunate couple by the Aaronid Phineas (25,6-18) ⁵. I want to suggest a somewhat different reading. Since there is nothing in vv. 1-5 characteristic

⁴ Among the more obvious examples would be the role of the Aaronid priests, predominant throughout Numbers and absent from Deuteronomy with the exception of brief allusions to Aaron's death in Deut 2,40 and 10,6-9, probably Priestly glosses, and the uncomplimentary reference to Aaron involved in the Golden Calf episode (9,20). Numbers also refers routinely to the Israelite assembly as the *'ēdā*, a term absent from Deuteronomy. An even clearer instance is the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, alluded to in Deut 11,6-7 and transformed in Num 16,1-17,15 into a Levitical rebellion led by Korah with the support of Dathan and Abiram and other lay persons.

⁵ To name only some points in the discussion of the passage: J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (New York 1957 [Ger-

of J in Genesis where this elusive source can be most securely identified, while E has proved impossible to identify with assurance even in Genesis, it seems that assigning this passage to these sources is more a *faute de mieux* than the result of serious analysis. This leaves us free to read it as a particularly significant instantiation of the prohibition of intermarriage as stated, using much the same language, in texts of Deuteronomistic type, specifically Exod 34,15-16 and Deut 7,3-4 (language identical with or similar to Num 25,1-5 italicized):

You must not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, for when they *prostitute themselves after their gods and sacrifice to their gods* someone will *invite you* and you might *eat their sacrificial food*. Then you will take some of *their women* for your sons, and their daughters *will prostitute themselves after their gods* and lead your sons to prostitute themselves after their gods (Exod 34,15-16).

Do not intermarry with them, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons, for that would turn away your sons from following me to serve other gods, and *the anger of Yahweh would flare out against you* and he would soon destroy you (Deut 7,3-4).

In these passages the narrative pattern and much of the language is identical with the account in Num 25,1-5. There is also the brief reference to the episode in Deut 4,3-4, clearly of Deuteronomistic origin, in which those addressed are reminded that they are the only survivors of the destruction of the idolaters ⁶. Following this reading, we may leave aside

man original, 1883]) 356-357 (Jehovistic followed by P Code); W. RUDOLPH, *Der 'Elohist' von Exodus bis Joshua* (BZAW 68; Berlin 1938), 128 (E); M. NOTH, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1972 [German original, 1948]) 16, 75, 196-197; J. GRAY, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* (ICC; Edinburgh 1903) 380-387 (vv. 1-5: J and E combined by a redactor; vv. 6-18: P *Grundschrift*); P.J. BUDD, *Numbers* (WBC 5; Waco, TX 1984) 275-279 (Yahwistic followed by Priestly source); B.A. LEVINE, *Numbers 21-36* (AB 4B; New York 2000) 282-291 (JE followed by Priestly narrative); H. SEEBASS, "Zu Numeri 25,1-18", *Verbindungen. Festschrift für Werner H. Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. A. GRAUPNER et al.) (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2000) 351-362 (a reconstructed early core narrative from vv. 1-18 filled out by a P and post-P writer); id., more recently, *Numeri* (BK 4.3; Neukirchen-Vluyn 2005) 108-145; U. FISTILL, *Israel und das Ostjordanland. Untersuchungen zur Komposition von Num 21,21-36.13 im Hinblick auf die Entstehung des Buches Numeri* (OBS 30; Frankfurt a.M. 2006) (a post-P redactional stratum from 4th century B.C.).

⁶ On the late-exilic origin of Deuteronomy 4 see A.D.H. MAYES, "Deuteronomy 4 and the Literary Criticism of Deuteronomy", *JBL* 100 (1981) 23-51; Id., *The Story of Israel between Settlement and Exile* (London 1983) 22-39.

considerations of promiscuous sexual activity and orgiastic goings on, cultic or otherwise. What is happening can be restated as follows: These Israelites are engaged in accepting an offer extended by the host society of incorporation into their lineages or – and I will suggest that this is the more likely option – reinforcing a bond already in existence, the kind of bond referred to elsewhere as “a covenant of kinship” (*bʿrît ’aḥîm*, Amos 1,9). An exchange of women or, in other words, intermarriage, is the most prominent feature of this type of contractual social bonding, and tradition requires that it be sealed by sharing in sacrifice and a sacrificial meal of the kind referred to in vv. 1-5. The episode has been assigned a place, the last place, in the wilderness itinerary, but it reflects a situation in which Israelites were settled in Moab rather than just passing through ⁷.

If this reading is correct, the transition between the first and the second narratives, vv. 1-5 and vv. 6-18 respectively, is not as abrupt as it is generally thought to be. In order to emphasize the seriousness of intermarriage, and specifically intermarriage with Midianites, the author presents the case history of two high-status individuals identified in a footnote to the account (vv. 14-15) as Zimri, a Shimeonite tribal head, and Cozbi, daughter of Sur, probably one of the five Midianite “kings” (i.e. sheiks) of that name who were killed in the course of the Israelite war with Midian (Num 31,8) ⁸. The issue was not therefore the irresistible sexual appeal of Moabite women but the reaffirmation or reinforcement of a kinship bond by means of matrimonial alliance between distinguished members of the two ethnic groups involved, which see themselves as sharing a kinship relationship and a history. The Israelite man introduces the Midianite woman to his kin (*’aḥîm*), as no doubt was customary, and the union is solemnized in the tent-shrine (*qubbâ*, 25,8), probably a cult tent like the pre-Islamic *qubba* (*qubbatun*). But the comparison which comes to mind is the tent in which Jethro the Midianite priest and Moses reaffirmed their bond in the Yahweh cult assembly, a bond also validated and reinforced by sacrifice and a sacrificial meal (Exod 18,5-12), an episode to which we will return. In order to attach his edifying story to vv. 1-5, the author of vv. 6-18, who was perhaps also the redactor of the final form, simply omitted the carrying out of the original punishment and substituted it with the plague (*maggēpâ*), the punishment of choice for Priestly and post-Priestly writers.

The presence of a Midianite rather than a Moabite woman is the most intriguing variation in this addition to the original episode. The reason is not far to seek. In the course of its transmission, Num 25,1-18 has been

⁷ That Israelites settled in and around Heshbon in Moab is explicitly stated (Num 21, 25. 31), and the Moabite king Balak is not very happy that they have settled in his territory (Num 22, 5).

⁸ These sheiks ruled over the five members of the Midianite tribal confederacy, cf. the five “sons” of Midian in Gen 25, 4. See E.A. KNAUF, *Midian* (Wiesbaden 1988) 165-168; Id., “Zur (Person),” *ABD* VI, 1175-1176.

conflated with the Balaam narrative immediately preceding in which Moabites and Midianites are closely associated (Num 22,4,7). The blow struck by Phineas will have its sequel in the war of extermination against the Midianites in which Phineas will again play a leading role. In the course of that war Balaam will have to die for having advised the *Midianite* women to seduce the Israelites into apostasy in the affair of Peor, the allusion of course being to the first Baal Peor episode featuring *Moabite* women (Num 31,8,16)⁹. The Midianite-Moabite connection appears in other contexts. We hear that the Edomite king Hadad defeated the Midianites in Moab (Gen 36,35), and the five Midianite "kings" killed in the war of extermination were vassals of Sihon who reigned in Moab (Josh 13,21). Finally, the name Zippor, belonging to the father of king Balak of Moab, is the masculine counterpart to the name of Moses' Midianite wife, Zipporah (Exod 2,21; 4,25; 18,2). The presence of Midianites in Moab evidenced in these biblical texts is consistent with what is known about the extent of Midianite expansion in the late second millennium B.C. By the Achaemenid period, however, they were long gone from the scene, though still remembered, their place having been taken first by the Ishmaelite tribal federation, later still by the Kedarite Arabs who expanded into southern Palestine and the Transjordanian plateau including land formerly part of the kingdom of Moab. Under their leader Geshem (Gashm), they were one of several thorns in Nehemiah's side during his governorship (Neh 2,19; 6,1-2,16)¹⁰.

III. Historical context

It is surprising that throughout the history of interpretation of the Baal Peor episode little attention has been given to another Israelite-Midianite marriage, that of Moses to Zipporah (Exod 2,21; 4,25; 18,2). The Moses saga

⁹ On the tainted reputation of Balaam, which continued into early Christian times (2 Pet 2,15; Jude 11; Rev 2,14), see J. VAN SETERS, "From Faithful Prophet to Villain: Observations on the Tradition History of the Balaam Story", *A Biblical Itinerary. In Search of Method, Form and Content. Essays in Honor of George W. Coats* (ed. E.E. CARPENTER) (JSOTSS 240; Sheffield 1997) 126-132. Van Seters attributes the derogatory portrait of Balaam to the P author and to xenophobia in Judah of the Persian period in general.

¹⁰ On the extent of Midianite expansion and the Midianite-Moab connection see O. EISSFELDT, "Protektorat der Midianiter über ihre Nachbarn im letzten Viertel des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.", *JBL* 87 (1968) 383-393; W.J. DUMBRELL, "Midian: A Land or a League?", *VT* 25 (1975) 323-337; E.J. PAYNE, "The Midianite Arc in Joshua and Judges", *Midian, Moab and Edom* (eds. J.F.A. SAWYER - D.J.A. CLINES) (JSOTSS 24; Sheffield 1983) 163-172; E.A. KNAUF, *Midian. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 1988) 162-164.

in Exodus tells how, after killing an Egyptian, Moses left Egypt, settled in Midian as a resident alien (*gēr*), married Zipporah daughter of Reuel (also Jethro) priest of Midian, and fathered a son, the first of two (Exod 2,15-22). Some time later, years rather than months, he obtained permission from Reuel/Jethro to return to Egypt, apparently taking his Midianite family with him (Exod 4,18-20). The ceremony at a sacred Midianite site involving Jethro the priest on the one hand and Moses, Aaron and Israelite elders on the other (Exod 18,1-12) has been endlessly discussed. One interpretation of what took place there would read as follows. Jethro and Moses carried out a liturgy together in a tent, perhaps similar to the Midianite *qubba* of Num 25,8. Moses recited the *magnalia dei*, the great deeds of the god they both venerated, Jethro pronounced a blessing on the deity, and renewed his profession of faith in Yahweh as the most powerful of the gods. There followed a sacrifice and sacrificial meal presided over by the Midianite priest, the purpose of which appears to have been that of reaffirming and reinforcing a kinship bond between Midian and Israel already in existence. The wife and children of Moses would presumably not have participated in the sacrifice and meal, but their role in the proceedings should not be overlooked, and it seems that the writer did not overlook it. They are mentioned at the outset, and Jethro makes what sounds like a solemn announcement of their presence to Moses: "I, Jethro, your father-in-law, am coming to you with your wife and her two sons" (vv. 5-6). If my understanding of the purpose of the ceremony as a *b'rit 'ahîm* is correct, the presence of the wife and children served as an attestation of intermarriage between Israelite and Midianite and therefore as a visible witness to and confirmation of the bond between the two branches of the same extended kinship group, the two families descended from Abraham (Gen 25,1-4)¹¹.

The question now arises: Why did the marriage of Moses to a Midianite woman pass without comment while Zimri's marriage to Cozbi elicited homicidal rage not only fully vindicated post factum but richly rewarded? Was this another aspect of the unique status of Moses, reaffirmed in response to Miriam's complaint about his marriage to the *'iššâ kūšî*t (Num 12,1)¹²?

¹¹ On this incident, and the history of research on the Midianite-Kenite hypothesis see my "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah", *JSOT* 33 (2008) 131-153.

¹² Following M. Noth, *Numbers*. A Commentary (OTL; London 1968) 94, and for the same reason, I understand *kūšî*t to refer not to Cush, the region south of the first cataract of the Nile, as LXX and Josephus (*Ant* 2:251-252) assume, but to Midian, following Hab 3,7 where Cushan is parallel with Midian. Most commentators do not identify this woman with Zipporah, since it would be a little late in the day for Miriam to be complaining about a marriage entered into years earlier. It is possible, however, that Num 12,1 represents a tradition about Moses' marriage to a Midianite woman, here unnamed, distinct from and alternative to the tradition about Zipporah in the Exodus texts.

The answer must surely be in the negative since the traditions about Moses give no hint that he was exempt from the laws which he was commissioned to promulgate. An alternative attempt at an explanation would locate Moses among the ancestral figures going back to the beginnings of Israel who followed different marriage customs. Abraham fathered children with Hagar, an Egyptian or Arabian surrogate wife, and with Keturah, “mother” of Midian, another Arabian woman (Gen 16,15-16; 25,1-4). After Jacob’s return from his twenty-year exile in Mesopotamia, the marriage alliance between the indigenous Hivvites and Israelites, which would have made them “one people” (Gen 34,16), was tainted by the crime of rape and ended badly for both parties, but the possibility is not explicitly repudiated. Judah married a Canaanite woman (Gen 38,1-2) and Joseph an Egyptian (Gen 41,45). A similar freedom from restraint obtained in respect to consanguinity and kinship affinity. In advising his son, Isaac speaks in favour of cross-cousin marriage (Gen 28,1-2), and both he and Jacob marry their nieces (Gen 25,19-20; 29,28). Both types of marriage would come to be prohibited by laws of priestly origin (Lev 18,12-14).

This is all well and good, but the obvious problem with this explanation is that Moses belongs to a different age from that of the first ancestors. While biblical chronology is not internally consistent, and cannot be reconciled with the genealogies, Moses appears on the scene either about four centuries (Gen 15,13; Exod 12,40) or four generations (Gen 15,15) after the sons of Jacob and, according to the genealogies, in the third generation after Levi son of Jacob (Exod 6,16-20). Moses belongs, in fact, to the first wilderness generation, the tainted generation which came to an end in the plains of Moab. The Midianite connection of Moses, never viewed in a negative light during that time — leaving aside the obscure complaint of Miriam — implies that in this first period Israelites and Midianites still preserved the tradition of close kinship which later came to be repudiated. As with Israel’s relations with Edom, the violence of the repudiation at a later date is correlative with the closeness of the perceived affinity between the two peoples. Since the reason for forbidding Moses entry into the promised land offered in Num 20,9-13 strains credulity, it may have been simply the awareness that Moses, like Aaron and Miriam, belonged to the first wilderness generation which Yahweh swore would never enter into his rest (Ps 95,11).

The Baal Peor episode is therefore the point at which the change in attitude towards the Midianites occurred. It is followed by the second census and the command to Moses to go up Mount Abarim, view the land of Canaan, and die (Num 27,12-13), and the obvious inference is that this is to happen there and then, not at some point in the future. If, therefore, this was the place where the death of Moses was originally recorded, as suggested *en passant* by Martin Noth¹³, it must have been transferred to

¹³ NOTH, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, 33, n. 126.

the last chapter of Deuteronomy after the merging of Deuteronomy and the Priestly work (D and P). The time is therefore different but the location is the same, since according to Deut 34,1 the death takes place in the plains of Moab, following immediately after it was announced in Deut 32,48-52 (The long poem in 30,1-29 was probably added subsequently). This rescheduling of the death would then have permitted Moses to issue instructions for living in Canaan and to take care of some unfinished business with the Midianites (Numbers 28-36). That the death of Moses was originally recorded in Numbers rather than in Deuteronomy is further supported by the parallelism with the deaths of Miriam and Aaron (Num 20,1 and 20,22-29). An even clearer indication is the relative inactivity of Joshua after his commissioning as successor to Moses (Num 27,15-23). Moses continues to lead and Joshua continues to take orders from him as if the transfer of office had never taken place. He has a relatively minor role in settling the Transjordanian tribes together with Eleazar the priest (32,28), and that is about all. The command addressed to Moses to "exact vengeance on the Midianites on behalf of the Israelites; after that you will be gathered to your kin", preceding the war of extermination (31,1), may even betray some embarrassment that Moses is still alive after being told some time earlier that it was time for him to die.

Moses, therefore, belonged, together with Miriam and Aaron, to the first wilderness generation during which the Midianite connection would have been accepted without demur. For the Aaronid author of the Baal Peor episode in its final form, however, the Midianite connection had to be repudiated before entry into the land. The repudiation could have been seen in the first place, in view of the situation at the time of writing, as a matter of survival. By the Achaemenid period the Kedarite Arabs, descendants of the Ishmaelites (cf. Gen 25,13; 1 Chr 1,29) and, more remotely, of the Midianites, controlled a vast area including the Sinai peninsula, the Negev and the southern Transjordanian region. Together with Sanballat of Samaria, Tobiah the Ammonite, and the city-state of Ashdod, they presented, under their leader Geshem/Gashm, a threat to the survival of the semi-autonomous province of Judah. This Gashm, "king of Kedar" (*mlk qdr*), was one of Nehemiah's most dangerous enemies¹⁴.

The biblical texts do not refer to Judaeo-Arabian intermarriage during this period, but we would assume it was taking place at least in southern Judah

¹⁴ Geshem is referred to as "Geshem the Arab" (Neh 6,1), and Arabs are mentioned among other opponents of Nehemiah (Neh 4,1). Geshem's title comes from a dedicatory bowl from the Persian period found at Tell el-Maskhuta near Ismailia inscribed with the donor's name, *qyn br gšm mlk qdr* ("Cain son of Gashm king of Kedar"). See W.J. DUMBRELL, "The Tell el-Maskhuta Bowls and the 'Kingdom' of Qedar in the Persian Period", *BASOR* 203 (1971) 33-44; E.A. KNAUF, "Kedar (Person)", *ABD* IV, 9-10.

and the Transjordanian region. The assumption has some support from epigraphic evidence from Persian period Aramaic ostraca, unprovenanced but believed to originate in Idumaeae sites. Prosopographical study of this material is still in its early stages since only about half of the 1,600 ostraca have been published, but what there is suggests a high level of interethnicity together with little concern for maintaining ethnic boundaries among the Arab, Judaeae, Phoenician and other West Semitic inhabitants of Idumaea¹⁵. A similar situation is suggested by the onomasticon of Persian-period Samaria, and confirmed by allusions in Ezra-Nehemiah and, at a later time, Josephus¹⁶. Nehemiah visited his own form of spontaneous violence on those Judaeae men who had married women from Ashdod, Ammon and Moab and whose children were no longer able to speak Hebrew (Neh 13,23-25). In addition to being roughed up, they were also obliged to swear an oath to observe the law in Deut 7,3-4. We are not told whether this involved coercive divorce from their wives, as happened during Ezra's perhaps brief ascendancy.

We have the impression that Nehemiah's aim was to implement in the broader political sphere in which he operated the ideology attributed (irrespective of questions of historicity) to Ezra, namely, the creation of a self-segregating, ritually pure society. Stated in general terms, his aim was the application of ritual ethnicity to politics. The role of Phineas in the Baal Peor episode suggests that the most uncompromising exponent of this ideology, at least from that time, was the Aaronid branch of the priesthood. The history of this priestly family is almost impenetrably obscure, but it is at least clear that Ezra's descent is traced from Aaron, and therefore also from Phineas (Ezra 7,1-5), and that the biblical profile of Ezra is the first of several embodiments of the zeal of Phineas¹⁷. The basic principle of this

¹⁵ On the ostraca see Ian Stern, "The Population of Persian-Period Idumaea According to the Ostraca: A Study of Ethnic Boundaries and Ethnogenesis", *A Time of Change. Judah and its Neighbours in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods* (ed. Y. LEVIN) (London 2007) 205-238. For a broader survey of the region see A. LEMAIRE, "Populations et territoires de la Palestine à l'époque perse", *Transeuphratène* 3 (1990) 45-54.

¹⁶ LEMAIRE, "Populations et territoires de la Palestine", 64-67; F. MOORE CROSS, *From Epic to Canon. History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore – London 1998) 152, n. 7, provides a list of his many publications on the Wadi Daliyeh papyri. See also D.M. GROPP – J. VANDERKAM – M. BRADY (eds.), *Wadi Daliyeh II and Qumran Miscellanea. Part 2: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh* (DJD XXVIII.2; Oxford 2002). Indications of marital alliances between Samaritans, Ammonites and others in Neh 6,17-19; 13,4.28-29; *Ant.* 12:160-236.

¹⁷ Mattathias, burning with zeal for the law, assassinated an apostate Jew and Seleucid official (4 Macc 18,12). The mother of the seven martyred brothers reminds her sons of their father's teaching about Phineas' zeal (1 Macc 2,26). Ben Sira, though not himself conspicuously zealous, praises Phineas'

ideology was the establishment and maintenance of fixed and clear boundaries impermeable to cultic or ritual adulteration, and for this to happen the control of marriage, by violent means if necessary, was essential. The Aaronids were, on the one hand, remarkably liberal in their attitude to the resident aliens (*gērîm*) who were to be treated in all respects like the native born (*'ezrahîm*). But quite transparently the point was to integrate this category of the “dubiously belonging” into the community with a view to removing the taint of dubiety. On the other hand, at least from the early or middle years of Persian rule, the attitude to the foreigner (*nokrî*, *ben-nēkār*) was decidedly xenophobic, especially so with those with historic ties to Judaeans, or with those who were seen to pose a threat of contamination by their close proximity and the numerous forms of social interchange to which it gave rise. As noted, this applied especially to Idumaeans (“Midianites”), Samaritans and Transjordanians, including descendants of those Moabites, contact with whom was so violently repudiated at Baal Peor.

A concluding observation: It is paradoxical that during the long period from Persian rule to the advent of the Romans the principal obstacle to the implementation of this ideal of ritual segregation enforced by prohibition of intermarriage came from the priesthood itself. We hear Nehemiah complaining that by establishing marital and commercial alliances with the Sanballats and Tobiads the high priests Eliashib and Joiada had “defiled the priesthood” (Neh 13,4-9.28-30). The roughly contemporary prophet known as Malachi had equally harsh things to say about contemporary temple priests including those who had married “the daughter of a foreign god” (Mal 2,11 – shades of Baal Peor!). Josephus records that Manasseh, brother of the high priest Jaddua, entered into a *mariage de convenance* with Nikaso daughter of a later Sanballat (*Ant* 11:302-312). He adds somewhat later that “many priests and Levites were involved in such marriages” (*Ant*. 11:312). Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander, reports in similar fashion:

As to marriage and the burial of the dead, he [Moses] saw to it that their customs should differ widely from those of other people. But later, when they became subject to foreign rule, as a result of their mingling with people of other nations [...] many of their traditional practices were disturbed ¹⁸.

“noble courage of soul” (Sir 45,23-25). Then there were Josephus’ Zealots (*zēlōtai*) during the rebellion against Rome. On the broader ethical implications of this zeal see J.J. COLLINS, “The Zeal of Phineas: The Bible and the Legitimation of Violence”, *JBL* 122 (2003) 3-21.

¹⁸ Text in M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem 1976) I, 27, 29.

In one sense, however, the situation was the contrary of what Hecataeus affirms, beginning with the marriage of Moses himself. The ancestors favoured endogamy and cross-cousin marriage within the broader kinship network but without any ideological overlay. We have unfortunately little information on marriage customs during the time of the kingdoms, but if, as seems probable, the Aramaic marriage contracts from Elephantine reflect Syro-Palestinian practice during those centuries, the situation would have been the antithesis of the Ezra reforms, not to mention the Phineas approach to intermarriage¹⁹. If the policy advocated by Ezra and his associates who trembled at the word of God had been successful, Ruth from Moab would never have been accepted into the Israelite community, and Achior from Ammon would never have been converted to the Jewish faith (Jdt 14,10). During the Second Temple period endogamous marriage remained an ideal for some, perhaps for many, but the extreme approach embraced by Nehemiah, Ezra, and his putative ancestor Phineas found a future of sorts only in the sectarian movements of the Graeco-Roman period.

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SUMMARY

The Baal Peor episode (Num 25,1-18), followed by the second census (Num 26), marks the break between the first compromised wilderness generation and the second. This episode is a "covenant of kinship" between Israelites and Midianites resident in Moab, sealed by marriage between high-status individuals from each of these lineages. The violent repudiation of this transaction by the Aaronid Phineas is in marked contrast to the Midianite marriage of Moses, for which an explanation is offered, and is paradigmatic of the attitude to intermarriage of the Aaronid priesthood during the mid- to late-Achaemenid period.

¹⁹ For the texts see B. PORTEN – A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (TADAE, I-IV; Jerusalem 1986-1999). The issue is discussed by E. LIPINSKI, "Marriage and Divorce in the Judaism of the Persian Period", *Transeuphratène* 4 (1991) 63-71.

A New Historical Reconstruction of the Fall of Samaria

Although the date of the fall of Samaria has been discussed by numerous scholars, it still remains as one of the perennial issues in the Bible. The goal of this paper is to introduce briefly three widely held interpretations regarding the fall of Samaria, to evaluate critically the two-conquest model, the most popular view, and to suggest a new historical reconstruction of this significant event in the history of Israel.

The biblical references (2 Kgs 17,3-6; 18,9-11) and the Babylonian Chronicle support one conquest of Samaria by Shalmaneser V, whereas eight other Assyrian inscriptions affirm the conquest of the sacred city by Sargon II ¹. Scholars have proposed various hypotheses to solve this riddle, but there is yet no consensus. These hypotheses are categorized mainly into three groups:

- 1) Only one conquest of Samaria either by Shalmaneser V or by Sargon II ².
- 2) Multiple conquests (four conquests) by these two Assyrian kings ³.
- 3) Two conquests: the first one by Shalmaneser V at the very end of his reign (probably the autumn of 722 BCE) and the second one by Sargon II in his second regnal year (720 BCE) ⁴.

¹ For evidence supporting Shalmaneser V's conquest, see the Babylonian Chronicle — A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5; New York 1975) 69-87. The conquest by Sargon II of Samaria appears in eight inscriptions: the Khorsabad Annals (*ARAB*, II §4-5), the Assur Charter (H.W.F. SAGGS, "Historical Texts and Fragments of Sargon II of Assyria, 1. The 'Aššur Charter'", *Iraq* 37 [1975] 11-20), the Great Display Inscription (*ARAB*, II §55), the Nimrud Prism (C.J. GADD, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud", *Iraq* 16 [1954] 179-180; H. TADMOR, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study", *JCS* 12 (1958) 34, the Cylinder inscription (*ARAB*, II §118), the Bull inscription (*ARAB*, II §92), the Small Display Inscription (*ARAB*, II §80), and the Palace Door (*ARAB*, II §99).

² For preference for Sargon II, see N. NA'AMAN, "The Historical Background to the Conquest of Samaria (720 BC)", *Bib* 71 (1990) 206-225; M.C. TETLEY, "The Date of Samaria's Fall as a Reason for Rejecting the Hypothesis of Two Conquests", *CBQ* 64 (2002) 59-77. For preference for Shalmaneser V whose feat was usurped by Sargon II, see J.E. READE, "Sargon's Campaigns of 720, 716, and 715 B.C.: Evidence from the Sculptures", *JNES* 35 (1976) 100-101.

³ J.H. HAYES – J.K. KUAN, "The Final Years of Samaria (730-720 B.C.)", *Bib* 72 (1991) 153-181.

⁴ TADMOR, "Campaigns", 33-40; B. BECKING, *The Fall of Samaria. An Historical and Archeological Study* (SHANE 2; Leiden 1992) 21-60; K.L. YOUNGER, "The Fall of Samaria in Light of Recent Research", *CBQ* 61 (1999) 461-482.

I. Summary of the Two-Conquest Model

The proponents of the two-conquest model propose that Shalmaneser V besieged Samaria in 725 BCE and imprisoned Hoshea, the king of Israel. After a three year siege, in the autumn of 722 BCE, Shalmaneser V eventually conquered the ancient city of Israel but died shortly after the conquest. Due to the sudden death of the king, the Assyrian army had to withdraw quickly back to Assyria. Sargon II ascended the throne of Assyria on the twelfth day of the month Tebet (December) in 722 BCE⁵. The hasty departure of the besieging Assyrian army left open the possibility of Yaubi'di's regaining military power in Hamath. Yaubi'di together with the cities of Damascus, Simirra, Arpad, Hadrach, and Samaria constituted an alliance against Assyria. Hannun of Gaza and Re'e, *turtānu* of Egypt also joined this military alliance⁶.

H. Tadmor assumes that when Sargon II came to the throne, a domestic crisis regarding corvée service broke out in the city of Assur. In order to pacify the citizens of Assur, Sargon II granted them certain privileges such as freedom from corvée service, as mentioned in the Assur Charter, the earliest inscription of Sargon⁷. After resolving this internal conflict, most likely, Sargon II was defeated by the combined forces of Humbanigash of Elam and Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-Baladan) of Babylon at Der⁸ in his second regnal year (720 BCE). Then, he turned his attention to the Levant area in the West ("against the Hatti" according to the Eponym Chronicle). He also laid his hands on Yaubi'di near Qarqar and recaptured the rebellious cities including Samaria, deporting 27,290 captives in the same year⁹. He further ravaged Gaza and defeated an Egyptian army, taking into exile 9,033 soldiers.

II. Criticism of the Two-Conquest Model

Although the two-conquest model plausibly explains the historical events, it entails some difficulties. First, as Na'aman clearly points out, it is widely recognized that the Assyrian army had destroyed the non-sub-

⁵ See the Babylonian Chronicle I i. 31.

⁶ See the Khorsabad Annals and the Great Display Inscription.

⁷ TADMOR, "Campaigns", 37.

⁸ The Babylonian Chronicles I i. 33-35. The Khorsabad Annals describe an opposing story that Sargon experienced a great victory at Der. This, however, reflects the bombastic, propagandistic characteristic of the Assyrian annals. After this battle, Sargon turned his attention to the West and did not engage the Elamites until 710 BCE.

⁹ In the Khorsabad Annals (II. 10-23), Sargon II ravaged Samaria in his first and second regnal years. TADMOR, "Campaigns", 37, suggests that ravaging Samaria in his first regnal year is "entirely unjustified" and that this unjustified claim derives from an ideological motive rather than from the real historical fact.

missive cities with all possible brutality¹⁰. If Samaria was besieged for three years by a massive attack of the Assyrians and eventually conquered by Shalmaneser V, one would hardly imagine that the greatly weakened survivors in Samaria could join an alliance to rebel against Assyria shortly after the conquest. Having considered that Sargon II was aware of a rebellion of the allied group, while engaging the battle with the Elamites at Der in the South and attacking the alliance in the West in 720 BCE, the residents of Samaria would have at the most only one year and a half after the first conquest. It was too short a period of time for them to prepare another battle against Assyria.

One could argue that the inhabitants of Samaria, who had suffered severely but were not yet deported, could in fact participate in the rebellion after the three year siege. However, this argument is by no means convincing. If the people of Samaria had maintained their military force, how could Sargon have captured the city within such a short time, where Shalmaneser V took three years over the conquest? It is recognized that the Assyrian army, at their fastest, could cover 18.75 miles per day and at their slowest 7.5 miles. Younger states, "Since Sargon had fought the battle of Der in Babylonia earlier in the same year (720 BCE), the campaign in the Levant must have been very swift indeed. Thus, from a purely logistical viewpoint Sargon's siege of Samaria in the year 720 BCE had to be very short"¹¹. Furthermore, it is very doubtful that Sargon II could engage the battle with the Westland so quickly (within one year) after being defeated by the combined forces of the Elamites and the Babylonians.

Second, according to the excavators of Samaria, relatively few signs of destruction were found, when compared with other cities, which normally reveal utter destruction due to Assyrian conquest¹². Therefore, it is hardly conceivable that Samaria would be well preserved after two conquests by the Assyrians.

Third, although Tadmor admits that the descriptions of the Annals, the Nimrud Prism, and the Great Display inscription are primarily geographical rather than chronological, the chronological order of "the two-conquest model" is not without problems. According to this model, its chronological order is as follows:

- 1) The first conquest of Samaria by Shalmaneser V (in the autumn of 722 BCE)
- 2) The withdrawal of the Assyrian army from Samaria to Assur
- 3) The domestic conflict described in the Assur Charter and the Borowski Stela

¹⁰ NA'AMAN, "Historical Background", 208-209.

¹¹ YOUNGER, "The Fall of Samaria", 473.

¹² N. AVIGAD, "Samaria", *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (New York 1993) IV, 1300-1310; J.W. CROWFOOT – K.M. KENYON – E.L. SUKENIK, *The Objects from Samaria* (London 1957) 97-98.

- 4) The quelling of the conflict by Sargon II (in the winter of 722 BCE)
- 5) The battle with the Elamites at Der (720 BCE)
- 6) The battle with the West (720 BCE)
- 7) The second conquest of Samaria by Sargon II (720 BCE)

The two-conquest model places the internal conflict in Assur before Sargon II's second campaign in 720 BCE. However, the Assur Charter, which is esteemed to be "superior to all other Annalistic sources of Sargon as to historical reliability and exactness of dating"¹³, describes a different chronological order. According to this inscription, Sargon II's campaign in the Westland took place before the domestic crisis in Assur. Lines 27-28 are connected sequentially in the Assur Charter (K. 1349).

Translation ¹⁴:

16. In my second regnal year when I sat on the throne of kingship and with the crown of lordship ...
17. I defeated the forces of Humbagash, king of Elam and established his defeat ...
18. The Hamathite, not the (legitimate) lord of throne, not fitting for the palace, whose destiny as a shepherd of people ...
19. against Assur, his land and his people walked along with evil not good, and brought ...
20. assembled Arpad and Samaria and brought over to his side...
21. ... a life not ...
22. ... in order to conquer Hamath ...
23. ... I confronted and Assur the god ...
24. ... accepted my supplication ...
25. ... directed toward the Westland. Hamath ...
26. ... an ancient (city?) which had earned fame ...
27. ... I made the Westland bow down at my feet ...
28. I brought to my city Assur and carried due to the utterance ...
29. They came to my aid for Assur, city of privilege of ancient dynasty ...
30. the exalted cultic center which Assur its lord had chosen as the bond of the regions of the world ...
31. which has been unrivalled since ancient time, whose people had not known military and civilian corvée. [Shalmaneser,]
32. who does not fear the King of the Universe, brought his hand into that city for evil ...
33. whose people bitterly military and civilian corvée ... people as a lower group ...

¹³ TADMOR, "Campaigns", 36.

¹⁴ Contrary to the translation in H.W.F. SAGGS, "The Aššur Charter", 14-15, the present study avoids any possible reconstructions of this severely broken text.

34. Enlil of the gods in a rage of his heart... his reign [] Sargon, the legitimate king...

35. he raised my head and made me hold scepter, throne, and crown ...

This inscription does not support the view that the domestic conflict in Assur is followed by the West campaign of Sargon II. According to the description in the Assur Charter, after the battle with the Elamites, Sargon II fought with the Westland (here, only Hamath, Arpad and Samaria are mentioned.), brought the spoils to Assur, and then granted the privilege — exemption from corvée service—to the residents of Assur.

Furthermore, the Borowski Stela, one of the earliest inscriptions in the time of Sargon II¹⁵, seems to support the chronology of the Assur Charter in that the domestic conflict occurs after the West campaign of Sargon II.

I gathered from them 200 chariots, 600 cavalry, shield and lance (bearers) and added them to my royal contingent. I pardoned and showed mercy on 6,300 guilty Assyrians settling them inside Hamath¹⁶.

This stela informs us that thousands of Assyrians were “guilty” in Sargon’s eyes. W. Lambert comments, “This settlement suggests that they were not previously resident in the area, so most likely they were Assyrian army units who had offended against Sargon”¹⁷. Alongside the Assur Charter, the Borowski inscription indicates that there may have been a serious civil war over the succession in Assyria. If Lambert’s statement is correct, “6,300 guilty Assyrians” refers to the army units opposing Sargon II during this period. After suppressing this civil war, Sargon had the “guilty Assyrian” soldiers settled in Hamath. However, if Hamath was under the control of Yaubi’di, how could Sargon deport them to Hamath? It is apparent that Hamath was already under the control of the Assyrian military at the time of deporting the “6,300 guilty soldiers”. Therefore, it is evident that the battle with Hamath had occurred before the deportation from Assyria.

III. The Political Propaganda of Sargon II against Shalmaneser V

According to the Assur Charter (refer to lines 31-33), Shalmaneser V was fully responsible for the abolition of privilege in the city of Assur. However, the privileges of exemption from *ilku* and *tupšikku* had been

¹⁵ W.G. LAMBERT, “Portion of Inscribed Stela of Sargon II, King of Assyria”, *Ladders to Heaven* (ed. O.W. MUSCARELLA) (Toronto 1981) 125.

¹⁶ The phrase *ina qereb* ^{KUR}*Hamatti* indicates that the 6,300 guilty Assyrians were not deployed to defend the military border between Assyria and Hamath, but to station inside Hamath. *CAD*, Q 216-217.

¹⁷ LAMBERT, “Inscribed Stela of Sargon II”, 125.

granted by Shalmaneser III and were taken away after the insurrection of 763 BCE¹⁸. It is therefore interesting to observe that Sargon blamed Shalmaneser V for imposing *ilku* and *tupšikku* on the city of Assur in his earliest inscription even though Sargon clearly stated in his later inscription that the abolition of privilege in Assur was from a distant past.

I restored the exemption from taxation in the cities of Assur and Harran, which had fallen from distant past into oblivion, and their privilege had been cast aside¹⁹.

To be sure, the abolition of tax exemption or certain privileges for a particular city was dependent on the explicit decision of a king. Chamaza rightly states that “such privileges were not always in existence in the city of Assur”²⁰. According to the *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* 442, this is evidenced by a letter addressed to Esarhaddon,

To the king [our] lo[rd], your [ser]vants the m[ayors (and) El]ders o[f the city of Assur]. [...] Now, from the house of the [governor] they have appointed officials over the Inner City; they are exacting corn (and) straw taxes. You are the true seed of Sennacherib; Assur and Shamash have blessed you, your son, your son’s son, generation to generation: you exercise kingship over us. So, by your goodness, re[move] our corn taxes from us, re[move] our straw taxes from us²¹.

In reality, the *ilku* and *tupšikku* duties imposed on the city of Assur had been customary long before and even during the reign of Shalmaneser V. Consequently, two essential questions should be raised. Why did Sargon II raise the issue of corvée service in the ancient capital city of Assur in an allegation against Shalmaneser V? Why did 6,300 “guilty” Assyrian army personnel make a revolt against Sargon II at the early period of his reign?

To answer these questions, we need to discuss briefly the uncertain identity of Sargon II. It is by no means a simple task to identify who he was, since Sargon rarely revealed his genealogical connection with the earlier Assyrian kings in his extant royal inscriptions. This tendency is in contrast to other legitimate Assyrian kings’ customary proclamations

¹⁸ A.T. OLMSTEAD, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722-705 BC* (CSHPS 2; New York 1908) 32, n. 27.

¹⁹ F.H. WEISBACH, “Zu den Inschriften der Sale im Palaste Sargons II von Assyrien”, *ZDMG* 72 (1918) 176-179; G.W.V. CHAMAZA, “Sargon II’s Ascent to the Throne: The Political Situation”, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 6 (1992) 21-33, 27.

²⁰ CHAMAZA, “Sargon II’s Ascent”, 28.

²¹ J.N. POSTGATE, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome 1974) 276-277.

when they mention their royal ancestry²². Only a small inscription found in Istanbul informs us that Sargon was a son of Tiglath-pileser III²³. It is very intriguing, however, why he made such an important statement in this short inscription. The scanty textual evidence indicates that Sargon might be the son of Tiglath-pileser III, but it is most likely that he was not the legitimate heir to the Assyrian throne like Shalmaneser V.

Furthermore, it is beyond any shadow of doubt that Sargon was able to ascend the throne shortly after the death of Shalmaneser. Having supposed that Shalmaneser died right after the conquest of Samaria in the autumn of 722 BCE, Sargon could take over the kingship within a few months since he ascended the throne on the twelfth day of the month Tebet (December) in 722 BCE according to the Babylonian Chronicle. This kind of swift accession would have been normally impossible unless Sargon was already recognized as the successor; otherwise, he must have made an insurrection against Shalmaneser. The latter is very likely for two reasons. The first reason is Sargon's antagonistic propaganda against his predecessor from the Assur Charter. This sort of political propaganda usually occurs in times of usurpation because a usurper had to give political reasons to justify the legitimacy of his kingship. Second, the rebellion of "6,300 guilty Assyrian soldiers" opposing Sargon II implies the illegitimate ascent of Sargon and opens the possibility that there was a more legitimate heir (who needed to be protected) than Sargon to Shalmaneser V. Furthermore, according to the Babylonian King List, the names of Tiglath-pileser III and his son Shalmaneser V were recorded in the same dynasty, whereas Sargon II belonged to another dynasty²⁴.

In summary, the exemption from corvée service in Assur is most likely due to Sargon's political propaganda, justifying his illegitimate ascent to the Assyrian throne and pacifying the citizens of Assur through the restoration of the privileges. After the conquest of Samaria, Sargon usurped the throne from Shalmaneser by using his military power, probably with the aid of the priest group in the cities of Assur and Harran.

IV. Historical Reconstruction of the Fall of Samaria

By means of the above discussion, it has been determined that it is most likely that the conquest of Samaria by Sargon II happened only once, under the reign of Shalmaneser V in 722 BCE. Shalmaneser V recognized

²² H. TADMOR, "History and Ideology in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions", *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis* (ed. F.M. FALES) (Rome 1981) 25.

²³ E. UNGER, *AfO* 9 (1933-34) 79.

²⁴ H. TADMOR, "History and Ideology", 27.

²⁵ OLMSTEAD, *Western Asia*, 31-35; READE, "Sargon's Campaigns", 100-102.

a rebellion of the alliance in the West. About 725 BCE, he sent his troops probably under the command of Sargon II. Although there is no textual evidence that Sargon was a general of Shalmaneser V, it is evident that he had a military force strong enough to usurp Shalmaneser's throne. It was a common practice for the princes of Assyria who set out for battle as second-in-command for military maneuvering tactics. It is thus plausible to consider Sargon to be a military general of his half-brother, Shalmaneser V. The case of Sargon II is very similar to that of Assur-uballit II, the last king of the Assyrian empire. He usurped the throne of his half-brother Sin-shar-ishkun as a military general.

Thereafter, Sargon defeated Yaubi'di of Hamath as well as many other cities and besieged Samaria for three years. During that time, Sargon went on to destroy Gaza and Re'e, *turtānu* of Egypt. After the conquest of Samaria, he deported its inhabitants to various places of the Assyrian Empire ²⁶. With his victory, Sargon came back to Assur, usurped the throne of Shalmaneser V, suppressed the internal conflict by deporting 6,300 Assyrian soldiers — probably the royal guards of Shalmaneser V — to Hamath, and granted the privilege concerning *corvée* service to the ancient city Assur.

Contrary to the record of the Khorsabad Annals, it is evident that Sargon II did not conduct any military engagement in his first regnal year. Tadmor's explanation of the scribes' ideological, rather than actual, historical concern is valid in this case. Based on the record of the Annals, the military conquest was considered a great achievement for the Assyrian king. The Assyrian scribes might therefore record the defeat of the whole known world — the South and the West, including Samaria — as the first heroic feat of this usurper king ²⁷. However, the conquest of the Westland by Sargon II had already occurred under Shalmaneser V, not in Sargon II's reign.

In reality, Sargon turned his attention to the South as his first royal campaign (720 BCE, his second regnal year) and engaged the combined forces of the Elamites (under Humbanigash) and the Babylonians (under Marduk-apla-iddina). His army, however, suffered severe losses. Consequently, he had to withdraw from Der and did not engage with the Elamites until 710 BCE. Thus, the new historical reconstruction of the fall of Samaria can be summarized as follows:

²⁶ N. NA'AMAN, "Population Changes in Palestine Following Assyrian Deportation", *Tel Aviv* 20 (1993) 104-24; N. NA'AMAN – R. ZADOK, "Sargon II's Deportations to Israel and Philistia", *JCS* 40 (1988) 36-46; B. ODED, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden 1979) esp. chapter 1 and 2; K.L. YOUNGER, "The Deportations of the Israelites", *JBL* 117 (1998) 201-227.

²⁷ TADMOR, "History and Ideology", 13-33.

²⁸ GRAYSON, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 73.

- 1) Sargon II defeated the military alliance of the West under Shalmaneser V (from 725 BCE to 722 BCE)
- 2) Sargon II conquered Samaria under Shalmaneser V (722 BCE)
- 3) Sargon II suppressed 6,300 guilty army personnel and usurped the Assyrian throne (722 BCE)
- 4) Sargon II granted freedom from corvée service in the city of Assur (722 BCE)
- 5) Sargon II engaged the Elamites in battle at Der (720 BCE)²⁹

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SUMMARY

Most scholars accept the two-conquest model according to which Shalmaneser V conquered Samaria in 723/722 BCE but died shortly thereafter, and that Sargon II then suppressed the ancient city again in his second regnal year (720 BCE) after resolving the internal conflict in Assyria. This paper critically examines this model, discusses some problems regarding chronological order, and proposes a new historical reconstruction in support of one conquest. The probability of there having been propagandistic considerations motivating Sargon II's scribes is also discussed.

²⁹ I would like to express my gratitude to the late Professor D.B. WEISBERG of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion for his very helpful support and comments.

Why are the Sins of Ephraim (Hos 13,12) and Job (Job 14,17) Bundled? *

Two verses in the Hebrew Bible describe sins as tied in a bundle ¹:

צָרוֹר עוֹן אֲפָרַיִם צְפוּנָה חֲטָאתוֹ

The sin of Ephraim is bundled up, his iniquity is stored away. (Hos 13,12)

חָתָם בַּצָּרוֹר פִּשְׁעֵי וְחֲטָאֵי עוֹנִי

My transgression is sealed up in a bundle, and You smear over my iniquity. (Job 14,17)

This study interprets the shared image in the two verses in light of a previously overlooked legal practice attested in Neo-Babylonian trial records. These texts show that, in preliminary actions, adjudicating authorities would tie up and seal evidence in order to preserve it for the actual trials that would take place subsequently. In much the same way, when the sins are bundled up, they are preserved for later use in God's trial against Ephraim and Job.

Seeking a court-procedural interpretation of the imagery in these two verses is motivated by the Hebrew Bible's descriptions of the role that sins play in God's judgment. In the divine courtroom, where God the judge presides over trials of humans, sins serve as the evidence against the people standing trial. Thus, the divine legal lexicon refers to sins with the same terminology that is used to describe evidentiary actions in trials between human litigants: sins are said to "testify against" or "accuse" (ע-נ-ה) Israel ². God

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¹ Qimhi, in his commentary to Hos 13,12, already connects the two verses, and numerous modern commentators have followed.

² Isa 59,12 and Jer 14,7. Compare Gen 30,33 where Jacob's "righteousness" (צדקה) is the subject of the same locution. For the use of the locution in litigation between humans, see, for example, Exod 20,13 and Deut 19,16.18. For discussion, see the references to the locution in the index to P. BOVATI, *Re-Establishing Justice*. Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible (JSOTSS 105; Sheffield 1994) 470.

the judge, therefore, should act just as human judges might have in order to preserve evidence that will be used in trial.

Given the basic relevance of evidence preservation procedures to a discussion of sin, proper understanding of Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 requires pursuing information about how human courts preserved evidence. Some insight comes from the Hebrew Bible itself, as will be seen below. As is often the case, however, the biblical texts provide only minimal descriptions, so one must seek analogies beyond the biblical material. By reading the verses together with the Neo-Babylonian trial records, this study follows a recent scholarly trend that identifies these extra-biblical texts as a crucial supplement to what the Hebrew Bible provides. Thus, the Neo-Babylonian records have already proven vital to the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible's procedural legislation, of Job's trial, and of prophetic courtroom scenes³. The cuneiform texts allow students of the Hebrew Bible to see and hear, as it were, how human courts operated in a civilization contemporary to that of ancient Israel. In terms of the specific verses at hand, they allow one to see the forensic practice that underlies the imagery of sins tied in a bundle⁴.

Earlier scholarship on Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 has used extra-biblical materials both to explicate the meaning of the common image of bound sins as well as to anchor that image in an analogous human practice. W.G.E. Watson has explained the meaning of the image by pointing to the language of Akkadian magical texts. In these texts, verbs that have the basic meaning "to untie", such as *pašāru*, *paṭāru* and *rummû*, take as their objects the sins that are to be absolved by the magic⁵. By extrapolating from the Akka-

³ On procedural legislation, see B. WELLS, *The Law of Testimony in the Pentateuchal Codes* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte 4; Wiesbaden 2004). On Job, see F.R. MAGDALENE, *On the Scales of Righteousness. Neo-Babylonian Trial Law and the Book of Job* (BJS 348; Providence, RI 2007). On prophecy, see S.E. HOLTZ, "A Comparative Note on the Demand for Witnesses in Isaiah 43:9", *JBL* 129 (2010) 457-461.

⁴ Connecting the Neo-Babylonian records to the biblical verses is not meant to imply direct borrowing from the former to the latter. Rather, the connection reflects the origins of both legal systems in a common Near Eastern tradition. For a convenient summary on this topic, see B. WELLS, "Introduction: The Idea of a Shared Tradition", *Law from the Tigris to the Tiber. The Writings of Raymond Westbrook* (eds. B. WELLS – F.R. MAGDALENE) (Winona Lake, IN 2009) I, xi-xx. Also see WELLS, *Law of Testimony*, 158-167 and MAGDALENE, *Scales of Righteousness*, 31, with additional literature cited in n. 16.

⁵ CAD *pašāru* 13b3' (P, 244), *paṭāru* 3a (P, 290-291), *ramû* A 3a (R, 129). Note, however, that, as an anonymous referee from *Biblica* has observed, Akkadian does not have directly parallel terminology, namely of "binding" or "tying" sins.

dian terminology for absolving sins, Watson concludes that a sin bound in a bundle, or one that is still “tied”, must be a sin that remains unabsolved ⁶.

As will be shown below, Watson’s parallels can be added to biblical evidence in favor of the punitive interpretation of the imagery of bundled sins. One must still explain, however, how binding sins in a bundle comes to refer to punishment. What is the connection between the terminology and its punitive meaning?

The problem is similar to the one posed by the extremely common terminology of “bearing sin”. In that case, broad attestations of the verbs for “bearing” allow one to determine that the root of this terminology is the perception of sin as a physical burden. Guilty sinners must bear this weight, unless God, in an act of forgiveness, assumes the burden for them ⁷. In other words, with regard to “bearing sin”, the “real world” analogue to sin is a heavy object or weight that must be carried. Regarding the imagery in Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17, the question may be phrased as follows: Is there a similar “real world” analogue to the sins that, like them, would be tied and sealed? If so, what is it?

In answering these questions, scholarship to date has offered two suggestions, one from the realm of accounting and the other from the realm of document preservation ⁸. Those who would see the roots of the imagery in accounting practices point to a sealed clay container from Nuzi, which held a number of little stones that represented actual sheep and goats enumerated on the container’s exterior in writing ⁹. The sins of Ephraim and Job, like the sheep and goats at Nuzi, are fully accounted for by means of representative objects that are held in a sealed container. According to this suggestion, the physical analogues to the sins are the livestock being tallied, while the bundle refers to the container that holds the tally markers. The other suggested interpretation, the one based on document preservation practices, points to the bundling and sealing of written documents, attested in Isa 8,16, as well as in the physical remains found at Qumran and

⁶ W.G.E. WATSON, “Reflexes of Akkadian Incantations in Hosea”, *VT* 34 (1984) 245. WATSON applies his conclusion only to Hos 13,12, but it applies just as well to Job 14,17.

⁷ B.J. SCHWARTZ, “‘Term’ or Metaphor – Biblical עָוֹן/פֶּשַׁע/חַטָּא”, *Tarbiz* 63 (1994) 163 (in Hebrew). For recent exposition of this topic, see G.A. ANDERSON, *Sin. A History* (New Haven, CT 2009) 15-26.

⁸ For a summary see M.H. POPE, *Job* (AB 15; Garden City, NY 1965) 103-104.

⁹ See POPE, *Job*, 104. The “bundle of the living” in 1 Sam 25,29 is occasionally invoked in these interpretations, as for example, in E. JACOB, *Osée* (CAT 11A; Genève 1982) 93. Apart from the obvious “bundle”, however, the connection between 1 Sam 25,29 and the imagery in the present verses remains tenuous.

elsewhere ¹⁰. Like other information of record, the sins in Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 have been documented in writing, and the pile of records has been tied together. The analogue to the sins, then, is the information preserved on a written record, with the bundle referring to the package of documents tied together for safekeeping.

Both of these suggestions do, indeed, refer to “binding”, which is the distinguishing characteristic of both biblical verses. However, a straightforward reading of the verses highlights a weakness in both proposals. In the verses, sins, and not representations of the sins, are the objects that are bound ¹¹. Both proposed analogies, however, assume that, rather than the sins themselves, substitutes for sins (tally markers or written records) are the bound objects. Thus, the analogy to accounting fails because the objects bundled are not the objects being counted (the goats and the sheep) but the tally markers. In fact, the administrative language in the Nuzi texts clearly distinguishes between the livestock and the stones representing them in sentences like “these sheep are with PN, the stones have not been deposited”, and “23 sheep ... their stones have not been transferred” ¹². Similarly, the analogy to the bundles of documents falls short because the bundle is of records, rather than of actions or information ¹³. Put otherwise, for either of these two analogies to have been successful, one would want language describing the physical analogues to the sins, that is to say the livestock or the information on record, as tied somehow. Instead, both previous proposals require reading the verses at one remove from what the verses actually describe, as if the word “sin” in the texts refers to sin’s representation.

Neo-Babylonian trial records from the Eanna temple at Uruk offer an instructive extra-biblical parallel that avoids this problem. These records show that when the temple authorities were informed of a misdeed, they would tie up (*rakāsu*) and seal (*kanāku*) the physical evidence or the *corpus delicti* for use in the subsequent proceedings against the offender ¹⁴. One example

¹⁰ R. VUILLEUMIER-BESSARD, “Osée 13:12 et les manuscrits”, *RevQ* 1 (1958-1959) 281-282 and N.H. TUR-SINAI, *The Book of Job. A New Commentary* (Jerusalem 1967) 240. For further references, see A.A. MACINTOSH, *Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh 1997) 542.

¹¹ For a similar critique, see F.I. ANDERSEN – D.N. FREEDMAN, *Hosea* (AB 24; Garden City, NY 1980) 637.

¹² A.L. OPPENHEIM, “On an Operational Device in Mesopotamian Bureaucracy”, *JNES* 18 (1959) 125-126.

¹³ Certain biblical texts, like Isa 65,6-7, do describe a written record of sins, but this need not be the case in Hos 13,12 or Job 14,17.

¹⁴ The four examples below come from among those already observed by M. SAN NICOLÒ, “Eine kleine Gefängnismeuterei in Eanna zur Zeit des Kambyses”, *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger* (eds. L. WENGER – M. SAN NICOLÒ) (MBPF 35; Munich 1945) II, 16-17. For additional discussion, see M. SAN NI-

occurs in YOS 7, 88, which records three gatekeepers' report of a successful chase after an escapee who drew an iron sword against his pursuers. After the adjudicators hear the gatekeepers' statement, they inspect the sword. Then, the text reads (lines 22-23): "They tied up the iron sword, sealed it and deposited it in the Eanna (*iškusū iknukū u ina Eanna ipqidū*)". Another text (YOS 7, 102) uses the same three verbs to describe how the authorities tie up, seal and deposit a letter that corroborates incriminating oral testimony. In two other examples, the authorities tie up and seal (*iškusū u iknukū*) a pair of iron shears that were used to breach a wall (YOS 7, 97) and the neck of a slaughtered stolen ox (YOS 7, 17).

The actions described in these texts — tying and sealing — are equivalent to what has been done to the sins in Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17. In other words, the sins are analogous to the various objects that the authorities in the Eanna tie up. Therefore, even at the basic level of action performed, this analogy is preferable to the previously suggested parallels. One does not have to argue that when the Bible refers to binding and sealing sins, it actually means binding and sealing things that represent the sins. Instead, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the objects that are bound and sealed; sins, and not their representations, are the things that are bound ¹⁵.

The real value of this comparison, however, lies beyond the attestation of tying and sealing. More fundamentally, the Neo-Babylonian parallel is preferable because it pertains not only to the actions performed but also to the setting in which they are performed. As was already suggested at the outset, Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17, even when read on their own, make sense when viewed through the lens of an adjudicatory procedure for the preservation of evidence. This is precisely the procedure that the Neo-Babylonian texts describe. The trial records attest to binding and sealing in the context of an evidentiary procedure, rather than in the realm of accounting (like the sealed clay bundle from Nuzi) or of document preservation (like the sealed bundles from Qumran) ¹⁶. Beyond this general,

COLÒ, "Parerga Babylonica IX: Der Mostreprozeß des Gimillu, eines širku von Eanna", *ArOr* 5 (1933) 73-77. For more recent discussion, with references to additional texts and secondary literature, see S.E. HOLTZ, *Neo-Babylonian Court Procedure* (Cuneiform Monographs 38; Leiden 2009) 272-275.

¹⁵ In support of the idea that sin, in the Hebrew Bible, is something that can actually be tied, note Anderson's observations on sin's "thingness" (*Sin*, x; also see *Sin*, 4).

¹⁶ On the methodological value of comparing "like with like", see W.W. HALLO, "Compare and Contrast: The Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature", *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature*. Scripture in Context III (eds. W.W. HALLO – B.W. JONES – G.L. MATTINGLY) (Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 8; Lewiston, NY 1990) 8-9.

contextual similarity, the strength of the Neo-Babylonian parallel lies in the specific, functional similarity between the objects that are tied and sealed: the sins in the Bible and the *corpora delicti* in the Neo-Babylonian records serve as evidence.

The idea that God bundles and seals sins in order to preserve them as evidence emerges not only from the Neo-Babylonian parallels, but also, as importantly, from the biblical texts themselves. The use of the verb כִּבְּרָה in Hos 13,12b supports this suggestion¹⁷. In context, then, the verse in Hosea introduces the subsequent punishment that is described in the following verses¹⁸. Ephraim's sin is bound up and stored away; it is on file as God's legal justification for the punitive judgment that is to come. At the same time, Hosea 13,12 is a culminating statement at the end of God's indictment or accusation in the preceding verses¹⁹. The description of Ephraim's sins (see vv. 1-2,10) concludes with God's declaration that the evidence is stored, for the record.

Similarly, the image of the bound sin in Job 14,17 relates, in some way, to the notice about God's "keeping" (כִּבְּרָה) or not keeping Job's transgression in 14,16b. The problem, of course, lies in the negation of the verb כִּבְּרָה , which suggests a contrast between "keeping" in 14,16b and "binding" in 14,17. In fact, some commentators exploit this contrast to suggest that the bundling of sins represents forgiveness; Job's sins are bound in order to dispose of them or to otherwise make them unavailable or irrelevant²⁰. But forgiving sin makes little sense in Hos 13,12; the context practically demands punishment²¹. So, based on economy of argument, one would expect binding sins to have the same meaning in Job 14,17²². Moreover, Watson's Akkadian parallels, discussed earlier, also point in the punitive direction. The

¹⁷ See, for example, H.W. WOLFF, *Hosea* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA 1974) 227, and ANDERSEN – FREEDMAN, *Hosea*, 637.

¹⁸ So, for example, E. BEN ZVI, *Hosea* (FOTL 21A/1; Grand Rapids, MI 2005) 273. On the general problem of situating Hos 13,12 within the surrounding verses, see ANDERSEN – FREEDMAN, *Hosea*, 637-638.

¹⁹ See, for example, J.L. MAYS, *Hosea. A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia, PA 1969) 180, and WOLFF, *Hosea*, 227.

²⁰ These include: E.J. KISSANE, *The Book of Job* (New York 1946) 82; S.L. TERRIEN, *Job* (CAT 13; Neuchâtel 1963) 123; F.I. ANDERSEN, *Job. An Introduction and Commentary* (London 1976) 172; N.C. HABEL, *The Book of Job* (OTL; Philadelphia, PA 1985) 243-244; and C.A. NEWSOM, *The Book of Job* (NIB 4; Nashville, TN 1996) 442-443.

²¹ Even though D.A. GARRETT, *Hosea, Joel* (NAC 19A; Nashville, TN 1997) 263 argues, on questionable grounds, that this verse connotes "an act of grace", he cannot ignore the presence of "an act of judgment".

²² For suggestions that the image has a different meaning in the two verses, see J. LÉVÊQUE, *Job et son Dieu* (Paris 1970) 459-460; D.J.A. CLINES, *Job 1-20* (WBC 17; Dallas, TX 1989) 334 and G.H. WILSON, *Job* (NIBC; Peabody, MA 2007) 156 (referring to "elsewhere", without specifically citing Hos 13,12).

Neo-Babylonian parallels presented here tip the balance in favor of the punitive reading of both Job 14,17 and Hos 13,12. The sins are the equivalent of the physical evidence against the sinner; they are bound and sealed so that they can be kept, not so that they can be removed from use.

The punitive interpretation of the image in Job 14,17 must contend with the problem of the apparent contrast between not keeping sin in 14,16b and binding sin in 14,17. Commentators have already suggested three solutions, any of which could be adopted²³. One may explain the contrast by interpreting 14,17 as the point of transition from Job's utopian musings about a world in which sin is forgiven, or not kept (14,15-16), back to reality, where sin is punished, or kept bound up²⁴. Alternatively, one may identify the transition from utopia back to reality in 14,16 (signaled by כִּי עָתָה) and read 14,16b as Job's rhetorical question to God, the answer to which is that God does, indeed, keep sin and does, likewise, bind sin in a bundle²⁵. Or, if one retains the negation from 14,16b through 14,17, Job imagines an ideal world in which God does not keep and does not bind his sin, and the harsh confrontation with reality comes only in 14,18 (signaled by וְאֵלֶּיךָ)²⁶. Here is not the place to weigh the relative merits of any of these three interpretations. Their value, for the purposes of the present study, is that they all recognize that when Job declares that his sin is "sealed up in a bundle", he means that his sin is unforgiven.

Recognizing the basic meaning of the bound sins in Hosea 13,12 and Job 14,17 and identifying the forensic roots of this image allow one to situate the two verses within the broader discourse about sin in the Hebrew Bible. Accordingly, both verses share an image with Ps 130,3, where God is said, at least hypothetically, to "keep" (שָׁמַר) sins²⁷. This, of course, resembles more widely attested descriptions of God "remembering" sins²⁸. And, con-

²³ Solutions presented here retain the MT. For emendations with similar results, see, for example, G.H.A. VON EWALD, *Commentary on the Book of Job With Translation* (London 1882) 168 and A. DILLMANN, *Hiob* (Leipzig 1891) 126.

²⁴ E.M. GOOD, *In Turns of Tempest. A Reading of Job with a Translation* (Stanford, CA 1990) 241.

²⁵ S.R. DRIVER – G.B. GRAY, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job* (ICC 15; Edinburgh 1921) II, 92; G. FOHRER, *Das Buch Hiob* (KAT 16; Gütersloh 1963) 259.

²⁶ A. HAKHAM, *Job with The Jerusalem Commentary* (Jerusalem 2009) 140.

²⁷ As observed (regarding Hosea only) by H.-J. KRAUS, *Psalms 60-150. A Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN 1989) 466.

²⁸ E.J. PENTIUC, *Long-Suffering Love. A Commentary on Hosea with Patristic Annotations* (Brookline, MA 2002) 199. Also see R. KNIERIM, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im Alten Testament* (Gütersloh 1965) 95. For a collection of the data on this topic, see Š. PORÚBČAN, *Sin in the Old Testament. A Soteriological Study* (Rome 1963) 287-298.

versely, Mic 7,19 describes how God, in an act of forgiveness, will not keep Israel's sins but will instead "cast their sin into the sea"²⁹. Thus, the verses in Hosea and Job contain entailments of the broader metaphoric network according to which unforgiven sins are "kept" or "remembered", and forgiven sins are not³⁰. Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 describe the precise mechanism — binding in a bundle — by which God holds on to sins to keep them in memory.

Reading Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 together with the evidence preservation procedures in the Eanna sheds new light on the long recognized analogue to these verses in Deut 32,34-35. In Deuteronomy, the corrupt behavior of the people's enemies is "laid up in store" (סמס) with God and even "sealed" (סנן) in God's treasury, exactly like Job's sin³¹. Strictly speaking, however, the verses do not speak of "sin" as being stored. What is stored, rather, is the poisonous wine of Deut 32,32.33, which, according to this interpretation, stands for the nations' offenses³². Nevertheless, the passage in Deuteronomy is important because it describes the "sealing" of the preserved object and its use at the time of judgment. One imagines, with the poet, that the wine will be brought out of storage and presented to the nations, in much the same way that Tamar presents Judah with the evidence that condemns him as the father of her unborn children³³.

In addition to the long noted parallel in Deut 32, another, previously unrecognized biblical parallel to Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 emerges when the verses are read in light of the Neo-Babylonian texts that describe ev-

²⁹ God's casting away of sin is almost exactly the opposite of God's keeping sin in Job 14,17. Thus, Mic 7,19 hardly seems to support the interpretation of the binding of sin in Job 14,17 as an image of forgiveness, contra L. ALONSO SCHÖKEL – J.L. SICRE DÍAZ, *Job. Comentario teológico y literario* (Madrid 1983) 236 and F. MIES, *L'espérance de Job* (BETL 193; Leuven 2006) 200.

³⁰ For the terminology of metaphor and entailment, see G. LAKOFF – M. JOHNSON, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, IL 2003) 9.

³¹ S.R. DRIVER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (ICC 5; Edinburgh 1895) 373; DRIVER – GRAY, *Job*, I, 130; FOHRER, *Hiob*, 259; LÉVÊQUE, *Job et son Dieu*, 460; CLINES, *Job*, 334; G.I. DAVIES, *Hosea* (NCBC; Grand Rapids, MI 1992) 293.

³² A different reading takes the vineyards and the poisonous wine as God's own, stored for the day of vengeance when the nations will drink it. See J.H. TIGAY, *Deuteronomy. The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia, PA 1996) 311, with references to other literature on 404-405. Note that according to this interpretation, storing the wine under seal has nothing to do with storing the nations' sins as evidence. Thus, Deut 32,32.35 are irrelevant to Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17.

³³ See Gen 38,25-26. I am grateful to the anonymous referee from *Biblica* who suggested the similarity to this passage.

idence gathering procedures. The new biblical parallel occurs in the story about the promulgation of Jeremiah's scroll (Jer 36). There, after the officers hear the scroll from Baruch and question him about its composition, they proceed to report the matter to the king. On their way, they "deposit" (הפקדו) the scroll in the chamber of Elishama the scribe (36,20)³⁴. The purpose of this action, although not explicitly stated, seems to be to ensure the availability of the physical evidence in support of the charge that they are about to make. As the story continues, their action turns out to be warranted; when the king hears their report, he sends Yehudi to retrieve the scroll itself, which Yehudi then reads aloud before the king (36,21). Because the text does not say how the officers handled Jeremiah's scroll before depositing it with Elishama, the story cannot explain the more specific image of binding and sealing sins in a bundle. Nevertheless, the story of Jeremiah's scroll attests to human adjudicators' general concern with the preservation of evidence. Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 show that God, as judge, shares these concerns.

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In sum, and in answer to the question posed by this article's title, the sins of Ephraim and Job are bundled in order to preserve them as evidence. In the divine court of justice, even God must have the evidence to prove His case. By tying and sealing sins, God's actions reflect analogous procedures attested in the human courtrooms of Mesopotamia. God, who is known to keep sins in memory, bundles the sins in a sealed package that is carefully stored for the time of judgment.

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SUMMARY

Hos 13,12 and Job 14,17 describe sins as tied in a bundle. Since other verses imply that sins serve as God's own evidence against sinners, the common image in these two verses is best explained in light of evidence preservation procedures attested in Neo-Babylonian legal texts.

³⁴ For the verb's connotation of safekeeping, compare Isa 10,28 and Jer 37,21. Also compare the use of the Akkadian verb *paqādu* in YOS 7, 88, discussed earlier.

RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

Scott C. JONES, *Rumors of Wisdom. Job 28 as Poetry* (BZAW 398). Berlin — New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2009. xx-293 p. 16 × 23,5. € 89,95.

Nel c. 1 del libro Gb 28 è designato come un “Problematic Masterpiece”, con difficoltà di struttura, difficoltà di comprendere il suo posto e la sua funzione. Jones accenna al rapporto difficile tra approccio filologico e approccio letterario nello studio della poesia biblica. Nel passato l’approccio filologico e la critica letteraria ignoravano l’approccio letterario, il quale però negli anni 1960, nelle sue varie forme, ha preso il sopravvento al punto di avere poca attenzione per l’analisi filologica e per la critica letteraria. Ma è chiaro che non si possono comprendere i poemi biblici senza tener conto dei vari aspetti della lingua e del testo.

Segue poi un panorama della ricerca in corso su Gb 28, nei commentari, nei saggi e monografie al riguardo. I problemi comunemente riconosciuti di questo testo sono l’autore, la sua posizione e la funzione nel libro, oltre al genere e alla presentazione della sapienza che ne deriva.

A conclusione del c. 1 l’autore presenta lo scopo del suo studio e una nota sulla terminologia poetica. Il percorso della ricerca vera e propria comincia nel c. 2 con la traduzione di Gb 28, continua con una lettura del poema nel c. 3, con speciale attenzione ai fenomeni poetici nei vv. 1-11. Segue nel c. 4 lo studio filologico e testuale, a cui, anche se breve, sono collegati tutti i capitoli precedenti. E poi nel c. 5 l’autore presenta un “commentario strutturato” dei vv. 15-19, che per lui rappresentano un antico commento esegetico aggiunto. Infine nel c. 6 egli presenta alcune conclusioni, compreso il luogo e la funzione di Gb 28 nell’insieme del libro.

In una piccola introduzione Jones nomina i problemi legati alla traduzione, in particolare di un testo poetico. La sua traduzione, afferma, è basata sulla propria interpretazione e rappresenta una finestra sul ricco linguaggio del poema. Nel fare questo però Jones per lo più non tiene conto delle forme verbali e dei diversi assi temporali utilizzati. L’autore presenta poi il testo vocalizzato (25-26), che di tanto in tanto egli modifica rispetto al TM, soprattutto nella sez. 1, ad esempio nei vv. 4.6b.11.

Nel c. 3 segue la lettura di Gb 28 tenendo conto delle strutture linguistiche, delle metafore concettuali e dei loro effetti estetici su un poema ritenuto giustamente una squisita opera d’arte. Secondo Jones, Gb 28 invita gli interpreti a leggere il poema alla luce delle iscrizioni regali mesopo-

tamiche che esaltano i successi degli antichi re nelle loro spedizioni contro i popoli stranieri, e anche alla luce delle tradizioni epiche mesopotamiche, in particolare quella di Ghilgamesh. Tra le iscrizioni regali mesopotamiche Jones fa riferimento in particolare alla Lettera ad Assur in cui Sargon II descrive le sue prodezze in termini di sapienza, e a Salmanassar III che proclama di avere scoperto le sorgenti del Tigri e dell'Eufrate, e in questo modo questi re si collocano nel rango degli antichi re e dei saggi. In base a questi paralleli Jones dichiara: "The majority of interpreters have conceived of vv. 3-11 as painting a picture of a miner descending into dark, vertical mine shafts to gain precious stones. But read against the exploits of Mesopotamian kings out of the borders of the world into treacherous and uninhabited regions full of wealth, Job 28,3-11 is dominated by a horizontal, not a vertical, focus. Job 28 thus portrays its explorer as travelling through a dark peripheral zone beyond the limits of culture and out toward the mountains at the edges of the earth. It is only when he comes to the far-reaches of the world that the vertical dimension becomes prominent (i.e., in vv. 9-11)" (35). Ora però questa conclusione mi sembra tutt'altro che fondata, dato che si basa su testi mesopotamici ritenuti paralleli, di cui però non si cita niente di preciso che possa essere confrontato con Gb 28. E soprattutto, Jones impone questo senso a Gb 28,3-11 senza aver fatto prima alcun esame del testo biblico, cosa che per me è primaria. Per cui la dimensione di Gb 28,3-11 è chiaramente verticale, per niente orizzontale.

Da questa analisi Jones passa alla dinamica e alla struttura del poema, iniziando con la prima sezione (vv. 1-11). Riguardo al *kî* che introduce Gb 8 egli ritiene che sia una "initial emphatic assertion" (40; 117-123). Per parte mia penso invece che il *kî* abbia la funzione normale di motivazione. È vero che la maggior parte degli studiosi pensa che il c. 28 non si accordi con le idee di Giobbe e sia quindi un'aggiunta al piano originario del libro. Ma in breve direi che anzitutto il c. 28 inizia con un *kî* "poiché" che lo lega al capitolo precedente, con il quale condivide anche la parola chiave *māqôm* "luogo" (28,1; 27,21.23); più esattamente quella congiunzione potrebbe essere in relazione con il *kî* di 27,8. Si delinea poi un legame tra 27,13 e 31,2-3, cioè all'interno dei cc. 26-31 che il TM presenta come un unico discorso di Giobbe (cf. A. Niccacci, "Giobbe 28", *SBFLA* 31 [1981] 54).

Inoltre, sviluppando l'idea accennata sopra che la ricerca dei metalli e delle pietre nascoste è simbolo della ricerca della sapienza (38), Jones afferma che l'argento è simbolo della sapienza, mentre l'oro è simbolo dell'intelligenza nel v. 1 e anche nell'Antico Oriente e cita vari testi mesopotamici (62-70). Ora però secondo la mia interpretazione i vv. 1-11 affermano la capacità dell'uomo, a differenza degli animali, di conoscere il luogo dei metalli preziosi e di scavare per estrarli. Non si parla qui della ricerca della sapienza. Lo scopo dei vv. 1-11 è affermare che, nonostante le capacità straordinarie che l'uomo ha per scoprire le cose preziose anche

nelle profondità della terra, non è affatto capace di sapere dov'è il luogo della sapienza. Infatti il ritornello quasi identico che compare due volte — “Ma la sapienza da dove si troverà / e qual è il luogo dell'intelligenza (v. 12)” e “Ma la sapienza da dove verrà / e qual è il luogo dell'intelligenza?” (v. 20) — introduce due brani (vv. 13-19; 21-27) che evidenziano l'incapacità di tutte le creature. Il secondo brano proclama che solo Dio ha dimostrato la capacità perfetta di conoscere la sapienza in modo personale e completo durante la creazione dell'universo (vv. 21-27), e in conclusione ha spiegato all'uomo che la sapienza/intelligenza è il timore del Signore e allontanarsi dal male (v. 28).

Si comprende quindi che per me la composizione di Gb 28 comprende tre unità: 1) vv. 1-11; 2) vv. 12-19; 3) vv. 20-28. Le tre unità sono scandite dal ritornello che compare nei vv. 12 e 20 e sono perfettamente legate tra loro, nonostante le difficoltà che presentano. Non credo giusto perciò la divisione che propone Jones: sez. 1) vv. 1-11; sez. 2) vv. 12-14 + 20-22; sez. 3) vv. 23-28. L'autore, tra l'altro, ritiene che i vv. 15-19 siano un'aggiunta spiegabile sulla base dei racconti dei mercanti dell'Antico Oriente (213-216) e li commenta a parte (216-231). Per l'autore questi versetti sono fortemente legati fra di loro ma non fanno parte del contesto (216-231). Credo invece che le tre unità che compongono Gb 28 (vv. 1-11; vv. 12-19; vv. 20-28) sono tra loro fortemente collegate da tre motivi che sono presenti in tutte e tre le unità: a) luogo: vv. 1-6, 12, 20; b) limitazione: vv. 7-8, 13-14, 21-22; c) attività: vv. 9-11, 15-19, 23-28 (cf. A. Niccacci, “L'approccio alla sapienza (Gb 28)”, *PSV* 48 [2003] 56-58).

Circa lo sfondo concettuale del poema delineato da Jones nel c. 6 sulla base delle iscrizioni mesopotamiche ho delle riserve per il fatto che, come ho già accennato, egli attribuisce un'importanza primaria ai paralleli mesopotamici senza aver prima esaminato attentamente il testo biblico e averlo messo a confronto con i testi biblici paralleli di diverse epoche (Pro 8; Sir 1,1-10; Sir 24; Bar 3,9-4,4; Sap 9; Apocrifi).

Riguardo poi ai vv. 3-11, sono d'accordo con Jones che il loro soggetto è l'uomo, non Dio, ma non credo che la straordinaria capacità dell'uomo nella sez. 1 (vv. 1-11) sia messa in contrasto con la capacità architeturale del Creatore nella sez. 3 (vv. 23-28; 234). Inoltre, non credo proprio che Ghilgamesh sia il modello dell'uomo in Gb 28. Secondo il mio parere, le forti immagini dei vv. 1-11 non sono affatto in contrasto né significano una trasgressione dei confini stabiliti dal Creatore. Anzi, mostrano che, sulla base delle conoscenze ricevute dal Creatore tramite un corretto rapporto con la creazione, l'uomo è capace di compiere azioni che sembrano al limite delle possibilità umane.

La conclusione è che il solo Dio che conosce la sapienza la comunica all'uomo: “Ecco, il timore del Signore è sapienza / e allontanarsi dal male, intelligenza!” (v. 28). Significa questo che la sapienza di Dio è diversa dalla sapienza dell'uomo? O che forse la sapienza non si trova sulla terra?

A queste due domande Gb 28 dà una risposta positiva. Come leggiamo in Pro 1,7, "il timore del Signore è l'inizio della conoscenza" (9,10; Sal 111,10). Il timore del Signore non è affatto, come ritiene Jones, il terrore che si abbatte sull'uomo a motivo del "fulmine dei tuoni" di cui si parla nel v. 26 (235). Il timore del Signore di cui tanto parlano i libri sapienziali richiede che l'uomo accetti Dio Creatore nella sua vita, e così attraverso un uso corretto delle creature egli scoprirà sempre meglio la sapienza. Con la sapienza Dio ha creato; con il timore di Dio l'uomo può conoscere la sapienza. Una sapienza però che non è quella del Creatore, ma la sapienza della creatura che vive secondo il timore del Signore.

Questa prospettiva, che per me è quella corretta, mi sembra totalmente assente dallo studio di Jones. A questa, che mi sembra la mancanza più significativa della sua ricerca, si aggiunge un'analisi insufficiente delle tre sezioni di Gb 28, riguardo alle dinamiche che le legano tra loro e alla funzione di ognuna nell'unità del poema.

Di conseguenza, mi paiono del tutto infondate e fuorvianti le seguenti conclusioni: che nella sez. 1 la sapienza è un oggetto che può essere cercato nella terra, mentre la sez. 2 sconvolge questa metafora e sottolinea che è inadeguata e la sez. 3 cerca di ricostruire un'immagine più adeguata della sapienza riflettendo sulla relazione di Dio con essa nel processo della creazione (236).

I rapporti di Gb 28 all'interno del contesto sono ben diversi e molto più forti di come li intende Jones. Abbiamo già accennato che il poema inizia con la congiunzione *kî* "poiché" che lo lega fortemente non solo al capitolo precedente ma ai cc. 26-31, che costituiscono l'ultima risposta di Giobbe agli amici nel terzo ciclo, e presentano varie somiglianze con l'ultima risposta di Giobbe stesso agli amici nel primo ciclo di dialoghi (cc. 12-14; cf. il mio articolo sopra citato in *SBFLA* 31 [1981] 54-56).

In conclusione, lo studio di Jones su Gb 28 si dimostra certo molto dettagliato, propone diverse prospettive di lettura poetica ed è ricco di riferimenti paralleli, in particolare mesopotamici. La mia discussione ha inteso controllare soprattutto la sua correttezza linguistica ed esegetica del testo e, in base a questo, la validità dei riferimenti alle iscrizioni mesopotamiche.

Hubertus SCHÖNEMANN, *Der untreue Gott und sein treues Volk. Anklage Gottes angesichts unschuldigen Leidens nach Psalm 44 (BBB 157)*. Göttingen, V&R Unipress – Bonn, Bonn University Press, 2009. 545 p. 16,5 × 24,5. €67,90

Il volume presenta una tesi di laurea discussa nel 2008 alla facoltà cattolica di teologia dell'università di Osnabrück sotto la direzione del Prof. G. Steins. Seguendo la strada segnata dal Doktorvater nella sua abilitazione — G. Steins, *Die 'Bindung Isaaks' im Kanon (Gen 22)*. Grundlagen und Programm einer kanonisch-intertextuellen Lektüre (HBS 20; Freiburg 1999) — l'autore propone un'esegesi "canonico-intertestuale" del Sal 44, un tipo di approccio che si discosta nettamente da quello usuale in ambito tedesco, che privilegia abitualmente l'analisi storico-critica. Lo studio di S. prescinde del tutto da tale tipo di analisi, sottolineando invece l'aspetto teologico del testo. Come il titolo stesso esprime, più che un'esegesi del Sal 44, il libro vuole affrontare il problema del dolore innocente, che, secondo l'autore, costituisce il tema del Sal 44.

Presentiamo anzitutto una rapida sintesi del contenuto del libro. In un capitolo introduttivo (13-35) S. espone il suo programma. Egli parte dall'attualità del tema della teodicea, quindi presenta il suo approccio, ponendosi criticamente tra i metodi esegetici correnti. Egli prende le distanze sia da un approccio "storico", che cerca di collocare il Sal 44 in un particolare contesto socio-culturale, sia da quello classico della *Formgeschichte*, sia da quello da lui chiamato "antologico" di Weiser e Deissler, sia da quello "redazionale", rappresentato dall'esegesi di Beyerlin e Zenger, sia infine da quello "poetologico" di D. Schneider e B. Weber. La sua esegesi vuole percorrere una strada relativamente nuova (almeno per ciò che riguarda il Sal 44), privilegiando il testo finale, secondo i principi dell'esegesi canonica, e ponendolo nel contesto della Bibbia ebraica, come libro ispirato della comunità credente dei giudei e dei cristiani.

Il secondo capitolo è dedicato all'esegesi del Sal 44 in sé (37-182). L'autore presenta una sua traduzione del testo massoretico, e la sottopone a un'analisi di tipo letterario in due tempi: la struttura statica del testo e quella dinamica. La prima viene sviluppata con un'indagine del contenuto sonoro, dei lessemi, del tessuto sintattico del testo, e della sua dimensione poetica, soffermandosi soprattutto su un'indagine semantica delle singole espressioni. La struttura dinamica studia l'interagire delle diverse parti del salmo tra di loro. Come si vede, lo studio è prettamente sincronico e di tipo contenutistico, focalizzandosi nell'aspetto dell'accusa di Dio come tema centrale del salmo.

Il terzo capitolo (183-280) situa questo tema nel contesto del salterio, mettendo a frutto l'esegesi recente di questo libro. Secondo S., il tema del Sal 44 non è presente propriamente nel primo libro (Sal 1-41), anche se qui viene preparato, ma viene sviluppato fondamentalmente nel secondo (Sal

43–72) e terzo libro (Sal 73–89), mentre ha un ruolo marginale nel IV (Sal 90–106) e V (Sal 107–150). L'autore distingue tre gradi dell'accusa a Dio: in un primo grado il salmista vede Dio non come l'autore, ma come colui che in certo modo permette il male del mondo (Sal 10; 22; 69; 74; 77); in un secondo, egli cerca una risposta alla sofferenza nel peccato dell'uomo, in base alla teologia deuteronomistica del "peccato-castigo", e al classico principio sapienziale del "*Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*" (Sal 60; 79; 89,39-52); nel terzo il salmista accusa Dio di essere lui stesso l'autore del male dell'uomo. Questo gradino più radicale dell'accusa l'autore lo trova nei Sal 44; 80 e 88.

Il quarto capitolo (281–462), il più corposo, studia il tema dell'accusa di Dio di fronte alla sofferenza dell'innocente nel contesto della Bibbia ebraica, esaminando in particolare (sempre in forma prettamente sincronica) i libri di Isaia (in particolare la figura del servo sofferente), Geremia (le "confessioni"), Giobbe e Lamentazioni. Indubbiamente S. riesce a dimostrare come il tema costituisca un filone importante della Bibbia ebraica.

Nel capitolo finale S. conseguentemente conclude il libro non tanto con una sintesi sul Sal 44, ma abbozzando una "teologia dell'accusa di Dio" (*Umrisse und Perspektiven einer 'Theologie' der Anklage Gottes*, 463–508). L'autore ripercorre il percorso compiuto, enucleando da una parte la nuova visione dell'uomo, dall'altra la nuova visione di Dio che i testi esaminati presentano, e si confronta con i più recenti contributi teoretici sull'argomento (lo scritto come "formulario", come "dialogo" e come "dramma creativo").

Il recensore è rimasto impressionato dall'ampiezza del quadro teologico. S. non si ferma tanto su questioni grammaticali o storiche, ma si pone decisamente su un livello contenutistico, approfondendo in maniera convincente un tema quanto mai attuale. Per far questo egli analizza una quantità straordinaria di testi e lo fa in forma non superficiale, cercando le convergenze e le divergenze con la prospettiva del Sal 44. L'Antico Testamento appare come un testo profondamente unitario, che si illumina nel confronto tra i diversi libri. Questo approccio "olistico" del testo sacro recupera l'esegesi tradizionale dei rabbini e dei padri della chiesa. Essa si situa in linea con quel tipo di esegesi teologica praticata e raccomandata da Benedetto XVI, esplicitamente citato.

Il mio giudizio è certamente positivo, sia sul metodo che sui risultati. La separazione dell'"esegesi", come disciplina storico-critica, dalla "teologia", non fa bene né all'una né all'altra. La Bibbia è il libro di una comunità credente, e non è corretto scientificamente studiarlo come un mero prodotto letterario o storico. Un'esegesi senza teologia è un'esegesi monca.

Questo è, a mio avviso, il merito principale del libro. Mi siano permessi anche dei rilievi critici. Il primo è la lunghezza. Il testo comprende cinquecento pagine molto dense, senza contare la bibliografia. Uno ha l'impressione che il numero dei testi esaminati avrebbe potuto essere utilmente ridotto, focalizzando quelli maggiormente significativi. Forse si sarebbe po-

tuto anche ridurre la quantità delle citazioni bibliche: l'autore cita talora interi capitoli della Bibbia, come se il lettore non avesse questi testi sotto mano.

La lettura corsiva di testi così numerosi, non può sottrarsi, alle volte, all'accusa di superficialità. Così ad esempio uno si meraviglia di vedere (322) ripresa alla lettera la struttura del Tritoisaia proposta già da W. Jüngling, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (ed. E. Zenger) (Stuttgart 2006) 438. L'autore indica, è vero, la sua fonte, ma uno ricava l'impressione di uno studio non originale dei testi.

Nell'analisi semantica del Sal 44, S. accosta talora testi disparati in cui appare uno stesso lessema, utilizzando un'esegesi di tipo rabbinico. È il caso di רבה, che in Sal 44,13 ha il significato di "guadagno", accostato a Gen 24,60, in cui ha quello di "numerosa discendenza" (112); di מקום, che a volte indica il tempio, mentre in Sal 44,20 indica il deserto (123); di עפר (Sal 44,26), posto a confronto con testi che parlano di moltiplicazione della discendenza (125). Uno si domanda se è lecito estrapolare il lessema dal suo contesto. A volte l'accostamento è illuminante, ma a volte sembra francamente forzato (vedi ancora i lessemi בטן [125] o דבק [125-126]).

Questo vale anche per ciò che riguarda l'analisi del Sal 44. Lo studio dei singoli lessemi isolati dal contesto (63-144) conduce a una visione parziale del salmo stesso, che non viene supplita, a mio avviso, neanche dallo studio successivo della struttura "dinamica" del testo.

Si potrebbe, al riguardo, osservare la differenza con cui si parla dei "popoli" al v. 3 e al v. 12 (116, cf. 40). Al v. 3 il termine è senza articolo (לְאֻמִּים, גוֹיִם), e si riferisce ad "alcuni popoli", mentre al v. 12 esso ha l'articolo (בְּגוֹיִם) e ha un valore universale. Lo stesso avviene nel Sal 47 (cf. 223): al v. 4 si parla delle popolazioni di Canaan, senza articolo (לְאֻמִּים, עַמִּים), mentre al v. 2 si parla dei popoli del mondo (כָּל־הָעַמִּים). Questa distinzione non viene fatta dall'autore, che parla indistintamente dei due gruppi.

Nel primo libro del salterio, S. non riscontra il tema dell'accusa di Dio come autore del male (205). Peccato che egli non abbia dedicato attenzione, tra i numerosi salmi esaminati, al Sal 39, dove il salmista si accorge, alla fine, che alla radice del suo male c'è Dio stesso, e rimane senza parole (cfr. Sal 39,10: כִּי אֶתָּה עָשִׂיתָ). Sulla stessa linea si potrebbe porre anche Sal 22,16 (לְעַפְרֵימוֹת חֲשַׁפְתִּנִּי).

Studiando il legame del Sal 44 con il Sal 42-43, S. osserva che mentre in quest'ultimo salmo Dio sta dalla parte del salmista contro il "nemico", in Sal 44,17 JHWH stesso diviene nemico del suo popolo (213). A parte il fatto che l'interpretazione di Sal 44,17 proposta da S. (cf. 128) è perlomeno discutibile (ma non viene discussa), ci sarebbe da osservare che già in Sal 42,8 Dio viene rappresentato sotto la metafora delle acque di morte, quindi come nemico del salmista.

A proposito del Sal 45, l'autore riferisce i vv. 7 e 18 a Dio (quest'ultimo con un punto di domanda) (219). A ben vedere, אֱלֹהִים, al v. 7, è chiaramente riferito al re (cfr. v. 6), così come il v. 18 non può che essere riferito a lui (cfr. v. 17).

Ancora, S. colloca il Sal 72 tra i salmi “di Salomone” (207, 229, 236). Però il colofone (Sal 72,20) mette in chiaro che Salomone è il destinatario, non l’autore del salmo, che invece è Davide. Quindi anche la struttura concentrica tracciata per la seconda parte del secondo libro (236) non regge.

Gli esempi si potrebbero moltiplicare. Ciò, del resto, non fa meraviglia, dato il grande numero dei testi esaminati: è materialmente impossibile approfondire l’esegesi di ogni singolo brano proposto. Ed è proprio il gran numero di testi esaminati che permette a S. una visione più globale del tema. Era un rischio da correre, e a mio avviso ne è valsa la pena. Perciò, nonostante queste piccole note critiche, il presente revisore augura al libro un meritato successo. La necessità di dare sostanza teologica all’esegesi è oggi molto sentita, ed essa trova nel libro di S. una valida espressione.

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Greg Schmidt GOERING, *Wisdom's Root Revealed. Ben Sira and the Election of Israel* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 139), Leiden – Boston Brill, 2009. xv-313 p. 17 × 24,5. €114 – \$169.00

The last few years have seen a veritable explosion of interest in the deuterocanonical Book of Ben Sira. Besides the volume we are reviewing, the year 2009 also saw the publication of W. Urbanz’s thesis *Gebet im Sirachbuch. Zur Terminologie von Klage und Lob in der griechischen Texttradition* (Herders Biblische Studien 60; Freiburg im Br. 2009). The following year, the commentaries of J. Marböck, *Jesus Sirach 1–23* (HThK.AT; Freiburg im Br. 2010) and B.M. Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51* (NEB. Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung 39; Würzburg 2010) came out, as well as the monograph of A.J. Guerra Martínez, *El poder de la oración. Estudio de Sir 51,1-12* (ABE 50; Estella 2010). These works were joined, towards the middle of 2011, by three others: R. De Zan, *Il culto che Dio gradisce. Studio del “Trattato sulle offerte” di Sir^{Gr} 34,21–35,20* (AnBib 190; Roma 2011); C. Kearns, *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus. Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to Its Origin* (ed. P.C. Beentjes) (DCLS 11; Berlin 2011) and, lastly, I. Balla, *Ben Sira on Family, Gender, and Sexuality* (DCLS 8; Berlin 2011).

G.S. Goering’s book is a revised and augmented version of the doctoral thesis he presented at Harvard Divinity School in 2006 under the guidance of Jon D. Levenson. As the subtitle indicates, this study investigates the issue of election in the Book of Ben Sira, a topic that up to now has not been studied in depth.

Chapter one (“Wisdom, Torah and Election: an Introduction to the Study”) addresses one of the fundamental problems in the work of the Jerusalemite sage, i.e., the relationship between wisdom and the Torah. In the light of Sir 24,23, scholars usually talk about the identification of these two entities with expressions such as “nationalization of wisdom” or “universalization of the Torah”, which in our view are incorrect. As G.S. Goering rightly argues, this identification implies that one entity absorbs the other and, as might be expected, the absorbed entity automatically loses importance. G.S. Goering gets out of this blind alley through recourse to the issue of Israel’s election. Now, the few authors who have occasionally raised this question deal with it in dualistic terms (the universal opposed to the particular, wisdom opposed to the Torah, the foreign nations in opposition to Israel), thus limiting the significance of the issue and offering a distorted picture of it (good against bad, us against them). According to G.S. Goering, the election of Israel, on the contrary, not only brings to light the close tie between various phenomena of Wisdom (the universal) and the Law (the particular) but also the sense of this connection: “Whereas the correlation of general and special revelation simply suggests the whole and the part, election maintains that the special revelation is given with the intent of providing universal benefits” (14). With respect to this, it would have been useful for him to consult F.V. Reiterer, “Das Verhältnis der חכמה zur תורה im Buch Ben Sira. Kriterien zur gegenseitigen Bestimmung”, *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira*. Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime’on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18-20 May, 2006 (eds. G.G. Xeravits – J. Zsengellér) (JSJSup 127; Leiden 2008) 97-133.

In the second chapter (“Election and Creation: the Sun, the Moon, and Israel’s Chosenness”), the author shows that Ben Sira does not separate human beings into two categories (chosen and not chosen) governed by the criterion of “opposition”; on the contrary, his notion of chosenness is based on the ancient biblical tradition and on the observation of nature. Ben Sira’s doctrine of election is not derived from a historical fact, but rather from his creation theology, which shows YHWH “as wise and sovereign creator”, who grants wisdom in accordance with His will and generosity, — that is, to whom He wants, how He wants and in the measure He wants. This is seen clearly in the opening poem of the book (Sir 1,1-10), where Ben Sira distinguishes two apportionments of divine wisdom: one for the entire universe, including all human beings (1,9b-10a) and another for a particular group of people (“those who love Him”), who receive an extra measure of wisdom (1,10b). On this verse, cf. M. Gilbert, “Voir ou craindre le Seigneur? Sir 1,10d”, *Biblica et Semitica*. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni (ed. L. Cagni) (Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor LIX; Napoli 1999) 247-252. G.S. Goering then focuses on Ben Sira’s theology of creation. Unlike Marböck, Argall and

others, who consider that “the doctrine of opposites” or “the twofold aspect of reality” is the main point of this creation theology, our author holds that “Ben Sira’s chief goal is communicating the overarching sovereignty of Yhwh” (28). G.S. Goering demonstrates his thesis with a detailed and articulate study of Sir 42,15–43,33 and Sir 33,7–15. For the latter, he is inspired by Joel Kaminsky’s ideas about election.

In chapter three (“Election and Revelation: General and Special Wisdom”), the author presents election and revelation as two interrelated concepts. Like the Torah, Wisdom is a revelation, as chap. 24 well illustrates through the figure of personified Wisdom, which the sage presents in prophetic terms (cf. also 24,33 and 39,6). For G.S. Goering, Sir 24 “characterizes Wisdom as a prophetic revelation” (78). In keeping with what was said about 1,1–10 in the second chapter, he distinguishes two kinds of wisdom: one is general and the other special, the first is for all creatures in the universe and the second destined exclusively for Israel. Both general and special wisdom are actually two distinct forms of revelation. While the first kind of wisdom, revealed through creation, is universally available and inscribed in the teachings of the sages, the second derives from the observance of the divine commandments, revealed in particular to Israel, and is set in the traditions of ancient Israel, and especially in the Torah. The chapter ends with a section on special wisdom as Israel’s inheritance (cf. Sir 17,24).

G.S. Goering dedicates the fourth chapter (“Election and Tradition: the Preservation and Transmission of Wisdom”) to investigating the mechanisms used by the sage to maintain the tradition. Through comparison with what the Book of Proverbs says about the role of the family, the king, the scribe and the priest in the process of maintaining and transmitting the tradition, the author comes to the conclusion that Ben Sira “marginalises the role of the king and, to a certain extent, the family, while he elevates the importance of the scribe and introduces the role of the priest as preserver and transmitter of wisdom” (107).

Keeping with tradition, Ben Sira connects the fear of the Lord with wisdom. The “fear of the Lord” and its connection with the issue of election occupies the fifth chapter (“Election and Piety: the ‘Fear of YHWH’”). Besides the twin concepts of fear and wisdom, Ben Sira’s theology (2,15–16; 7,29–31; 31[34],14–19) and especially the long version of the Greek text or GII, emphasizes the relationship between fear and love of the Lord (cf. 1,18; 18,18–19; 25,10). For the mentioned texts, cf. N. Calduch-Benages, *En el crisol de la prueba. Estudio exegetico de Sir 2,1–18* (ABE 32; Estella 1997) 195–208, a work that the author does not quote in his study. According to G.S. Goering, in 2,15–17, “fear” refers to piety, and “love” to covenant loyalty. In our view, while the fear of the Lord accentuates the idea of respect and reverence for the deity — and this in turn imposes a sacral distance based on the recognition of one’s own condition — love

reveals the personal, human and emotional aspect of the relationship between the faithful and the Lord.

Chapter six ("Election and Eschatology: Israel among the Nations") develops the eschatological dimension of election in the context of the relationship between the universal and the particular. In other words, what implications will the election of Israel have for the Gentiles in the future? In this regard, two texts are examined with special interest: the prayer for deliverance in 36,1-22 and Ben Sira's discourse on the creation of human beings in 17,1-10. Here too, the author ignores an important monograph: M.C. Palmisano, "*Salvaci, Dio dell'universo!*" Studio dell'eucologia di Sir 36H,1-17 (AnBib 163; Roma 2006) that would have helped him, among other things, to identify the historical context of that prayer.

In chapter seven ("Conclusion: Ben Sira and the Election of Israel") G.S. Goering summarizes the results of his research. In order to contextualize Ben Sira's appropriation of the doctrine of election, he briefly presents the views of the author of the *Book of Jubilees* and of Philo of Alexandria, both authors of the Second Temple period, on the problem of universalism and particularism as well as on the election of Israel.

The volume is completed by four appendixes regarding four passages from Sirach (1,1-10; 33,7-15; 36,1-22 and 42,15-43,33) that are central to the election of Israel; there the author offers his reconstruction of the Hebrew text and a personal translation while dealing with questions of textual criticism.

With respect to the form, the following observations can be made: the literary quality of the work would in my view have been greatly improved by avoiding a style at times marked by excessive repetition (cf. the introductions to the respective chapters) and overuse of phrases like "as I will show / demonstrate" or "as I have shown / demonstrated" (cf. for example, 131-134). In addition to the titles already mentioned in the review, I note the absence of other relevant monographs and articles on the analyzed texts that would certainly have enriched this study, but were obviously left out for reasons of space.

These last observations do not diminish in any way the value of the present study, which contributes significantly to the understanding of Ben Sira's doctrine of election. If some aspect of the work deserves to be highlighted, this would undoubtedly be the position the author takes with respect to the controversial "identification" between Wisdom and the Torah. The key to understanding this and other asyndetical juxtapositions in the book should not be sought in the grammatical construction of the sentence, but rather in the sage's doctrinal and argumentative framework. I totally agree with the author on this point.

Assnat BARTOR, *Reading Law as Narrative. A Study of the Casuistic Laws of the Pentateuch (Ancient Israel and Its Literature 5)*. Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature, 2010. ix-219 p. 15 × 23

Issu d'une thèse soutenue par l'auteur à l'Université de Tel Aviv, ce volume propose une approche originale des "Lois" bibliques. Si leur dépendance à l'égard des textes juridiques du Proche-Orient ancien a depuis longtemps été établie, il n'en reste pas moins que les textes légaux du Pentateuque présentent plusieurs particularités (cf. T. Frymer-Kenski, "Israel", *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law* [éd. R. Westbrook] [HdO, I, Near and Middle East 72 1-2; Leiden-Boston 2003] 975-1046). Parmi celles-ci, les plus importantes sont la manière dont les lois bibliques sont enchâssées dans des récits historiographiques ou religieux et, surtout, le fait que le législateur soit directement la divinité qui s'implique personnellement dans les événements qui entourent l'énoncé des prescriptions, par le truchement d'un guide-prophète. Assnat Bartor démontre que le système légal de la Bible n'est pas énoncé en parallèle aux récits auxquels il serait mêlé de façon uniquement formelle mais appartient fondamentalement à ces récits mêmes et à leur narration. On découvre, depuis plusieurs années maintenant, l'importance de la narratologie pour l'intelligence du texte biblique — cf. *La Bible en récits*. L'exégèse biblique à l'heure du lecteur, colloque international d'analyse narrative des textes de la Bible, Lausanne, mars 2002 (éd. D. Marguerat) (Le Monde de la Bible 48; Paris 2003) — mais, jusqu'à présent, ce que l'on a pour usage de nommer "les sections légales" était tenu en dehors de cette recherche par un présupposé lié à leur nature même. L'auteur bat en brèche cette conception du droit biblique en une analyse systématique qui repose sur l'enchaînement de quatre points successifs.

Dans la première partie les lois du Pentateuque sont étudiées comme des "récits enchâssés" (The Laws of the Pentateuch as "Embedded stories", 17-22), c'est-à-dire comme des composants d'un ensemble narratif plus vaste; mais l'auteur soulève déjà le problème de leur statut exact en posant qu'une interprétation de l'usage littéraire de ces lois comme un "guide d'interprétation" du récit est trop réducteur. C'est surtout dans la seconde partie (The Lawgiver as Narrator, 23-84) que la thèse se développe. Ces pages sont particulièrement intéressantes car la bonne connaissance du droit cunéiforme dont l'auteur fait preuve lui permet de mettre en évidence, de manière convaincante, que la participation directe du législateur comme acteur "historique" aux côtés des destinataires constitue non seulement un trait distinctif des lois bibliques mais aussi et surtout une différence fondamentale d'avec les autres systèmes légaux du Proche-Orient ancien. Cette conclusion amène naturellement une interrogation sur la forme du discours et c'est la troisième partie de ce travail (Representation of Speech. The Mimetic Illusion, 85-131). Il s'agit en fait pour

le “narrateur”, selon Assnat Bartor, d’entraîner l’auditeur-lecteur au sein d’un récit où celui-ci se sente directement impliqué, comme il pourrait l’être dans un débat oral sur un cas réel. Le modèle proposé fonctionne parfaitement pour les lois casuistiques, comme l’exemple classique du lévirat, mais invite surtout à revoir notre conception du droit biblique en tant qu’ensemble d’éléments réunis uniquement dans des sections repérées du Pentateuque. Cela est fort bien démontré par l’utilisation que l’auteur fait de l’histoire de David et de Bethsabée (2 Sam 11,1–12,25) où l’on voit nettement que l’histoire de la faute puis du crime du roi est prétexte à montrer l’intervention directe du dieu législateur, d’abord par la parole de son prophète, ensuite par son action punitive et enfin par son pardon. Dans ce cas, nous sommes en présence d’un discours direct qui implique immédiatement l’auteur des faits en l’amenant, par le dialogue, à énoncer lui-même le jugement. Les différents exemples étudiés montrent de façon plutôt convaincante que “l’option narrative” a pour but d’impliquer fortement ceux à qui les lois sont destinées en les amenant à s’identifier aux récits dont ces mêmes lois participent. On peut alors poser la question des choix psychologiques du législateur, ce qui est fait dans la quatrième partie (*Representation of Inner Life. The Lawgiver as Psychologist*, 133-161).

Il y a toujours quelque risque à tenter une approche psychologisante pour des civilisations anciennes, même si nous disposons d’un témoignage comme celui de la Bible qui ne laisse pas d’interpeller le conscient et même l’inconscient de ses lecteurs. De fait, Assnat Bartor n’entend pas s’aventurer dans une exploration de la psychologie des Hébreux du premier millénaire avant notre ère; le propos part bien plus de la constatation que, dans toute action humaine, et dans son expression, il y a deux niveaux, celui de l’activité externe, et celui, plus profond, qui met en œuvre les connaissances, les intentions et les émotions. Le second commande et conditionne évidemment le premier et c’est dans cette constatation et dans son utilisation que les rédacteurs-narrateurs bibliques font preuve d’une fine connaissance psychologique. Toute l’étude précédente nous a mis en évidence le souci constant d’inclure les prescriptions légales dans des récits, de leur donner une forme exemplaire telle que le destinataire puisse les reconnaître et se les approprier naturellement. Les mécanismes littéraires d’une telle démarche ont pour but de faire des lois non pas des objets extrinsèques de la vie, plaqués plus ou moins artificiellement sur le quotidien pour le réguler, mais bien des éléments si parfaitement intégrés à cette vie qu’ils influencent la conscience et le sentiment. On peut discuter sur les résultats d’une telle conception du droit dans son énoncé et sur ses réussites, mais ce n’est pas là, rappelons-le, le propos de l’auteur qui ajoute une cinquième partie à son parcours biblique (*Point of View*, 163-181), destinée à élargir le propos au-travers de l’évocation de certaines lois qui tranchent peu ou prou sur le contexte légal du Proche-

Orient ancien. Que ce soit la relative compassion pour les animaux (Ex 23,4-5; Dt 22,1-4), la conduite de la guerre (Dt 20,1-4) ou la législation sur les lèpres (Lev 13-14), on peut se poser la question de l'interaction entre la loi, son énoncé et sa réception. Si l'on préfère, le choix d'une forme littéraire particulière pour dire le droit n'est ni neutre ni innocent; il va influencer – et l'auteur l'a bien montré tout au long de son livre – sa réception et son application mais aussi son évolution ultérieure. Ce point est juste esquissé par Assnat Bartor qui relève le rôle actif du récepteur-lecteur; soulignons-le car il peut constituer à lui seul le point de départ d'une étude qui contribuerait également à renouveler notre vision de l'ensemble du droit cunéiforme et biblique. L'ouvrage est complété par une bonne bibliographie sur le sujet ainsi que par des index clairs et d'utilisation aisée.

Le principal mérite de ce livre — reposant sur une documentation maîtrisée et une analyse sérieuse des textes — réside dans la mise en évidence du rôle très particulier du législateur dans le droit biblique: il n'est pas seulement la source et le dispensateur des lois, mais un acteur immédiat; son implication personnelle directe et son action sont uniques dans les droits du Proche-Orient ancien en ce sens qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un *Deus ex machina* qui survient pour rétablir la justice mais bien d'un législateur faisant participer, par sa "présence", les différents intéressés. La mise en évidence du caractère narratif des lois bibliques que fait Assnat Bartor renouvelle singulièrement notre approche du Pentateuque. Cela dépasse le seul problème de la législation biblique et touche à l'histoire même de la civilisation de l'ancien Israël; en effet, ainsi que le fait remarquer l'auteur dans sa conclusion (185) la nature dialogique des lois vétérotestamentaires dépasse l'établissement de normes du fait que le commandement et la coercition ne constituent pas le fondement même de cet appareil législatif: cette législation veut plus s'adresser à la conscience qu'à la crainte.

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Novum Testamentum

Dolly CHAAYA, *Becoming a Fool for Christ. Dispositio and Message of 2 Cor 10-13* (Bibliothèque de l'Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik 56). Kaslik, PUSEK, 2010. x-380 p. 16,5 × 24

Il libro rappresenta la revisione di una dissertazione dottorale discussa presso la Facoltà di teologia della Pontificia Università Urbaniana di Roma nel dicembre 2009. L'autrice, una suora libanese licenziata al Pontificio Istituto Biblico, è stata diretta nel suo lavoro di dottorato dal prof. Andrzej Gieniusz, CR, mentre è in debito con il prof. J.-N. Aletti, SJ, per aver da lui appreso la sua metodologia di studio dei testi paolini. La monografia studia la difficile sezione di 2 Cor 10–13 partendo dalla sua *dispositio* retorica per giungere poi alla comprensione del suo contenuto.

Nell'introduzione (1-14) l'autrice comincia con lo *status quaestionis* su 2 Cor 10–13, evidenziando tre problemi: l'integrità della lettera, la composizione del testo, l'identità degli avversari e delle loro accuse. Continua poi con lo scopo e il metodo del lavoro, evidenziando l'intenzione di studiare la *dispositio* del testo anche (oltre che per comprenderne il messaggio) al fine di risolvere le succitate questioni e dichiarando la sua scelta dell'analisi retorica. Infine chiude con il presentare l'articolazione dello studio. In queste pagine sono da notare alcune inutili ripetizioni e indebite anticipazioni, mentre è da chiedersi perché Chaaya, pur dichiarando di non potersi occupare della questione dell'integrità della lettera (10), non affermi, da subito e in modo chiaro, che nella sua monografia si muoverà in una prospettiva sincronica, considerando 2 Corinzi unitaria.

La prima parte è dedicata al contesto e alla composizione di 2 Cor 10–13. Da parte sua, il primo capitolo (17-45) si sofferma sulla sezione e il suo contesto. Dopo uno sguardo generale a 2 Cor 10–13, l'autrice volge l'attenzione alla cornice più ampia della sezione, studiandone il vocabolario insieme a quello dei cc. 8–9, immediatamente precedenti, e notando, di conseguenza, ciò che unisce e ciò che divide le due sezioni. Sulla scorta di questa analisi, procede alla delimitazione della sezione oggetto di studio in 2 Cor 10,1–13,13. Tuttavia, compiuto tutto questo, Chaaya riconosce che il mero criterio letterario è insufficiente a capire lo svolgersi dell'argomentazione paolina e quindi evidenzia la necessità di andare alla ricerca della *dispositio* retorica.

Il secondo capitolo (47-91) è dedicato alla presentazione critica dei modelli letterari e retorici proposti dagli autori che hanno cercato di trovare una relazione tra la composizione del testo di 2 Cor 10–13 e il suo significato. Emerge la superiorità di quelli retorici, in ordine alla comprensione della logica testuale, e l'esigenza di approfondire il genere letterario della *periautologia*, ovvero l'elogio di sé, a causa del massiccio utilizzo della prima persona singolare all'interno del brano.

Il terzo capitolo (93-182) è quello più originale e importante di tutto il lavoro, dove l'autrice offre la sua nuova proposta di *dispositio* di 2 Cor 10-13, grazie alla quale giunge ad approfondire l'intera argomentazione intessuta in questa sezione. Posta a parte la cornice epistolare di 12,14-13,13, Chaaya individua una composizione segnata da tre diverse *synkreseis* retoriche con gli avversari (10,7-18; 11,1-15; 11,16-12,10), ognuna delle quali ha una sua *propositio* e una sua *probatio*. In questo modo emerge la logica del testo che, mettendo Paolo a confronto con i suoi oppositori, in un primo momento dimostra l'appartenenza a Cristo dell'Apostolo e la sua coerenza tra parole e azioni; poi, sempre in questa prospettiva, si afferma che l'autore non possiede l'arte dell'eloquenza ma la conoscenza; infine è costruito il vanto di Paolo che si risolve paradossalmente nella sua debolezza, luogo dove opera la potenza del suo Signore. L'autrice disegna in modo convincente la progressione del ragionamento che trova il suo termine nel *climax* stesso della *periautologia* in 12,9-10, nel quale, per la prima e unica volta nel *corpus paulinum*, è Dio stesso che parla in maniera diretta. Inoltre si evidenzia che l'elogio di sé è un mezzo pedagogico utilizzato da Paolo e basato sul suo *ethos*, al fine di riconquistare a sé i Corinzi, sottraendoli dalla dannosa influenza degli avversari. Per questo capitolo dobbiamo però segnalare che al lettore non risulta ben chiaro il legame tra la *propositio* di 11,5-6 e la relativa *probatio* di 11,22-12,10, così come la possibile duplice funzione (in ordine alla sezione e alla relativa *synkrisis*) dell'*exordium* di 10,1-6, della *propositio* di 11,5-6 e della *peroratio* di 12,11-13.

Nel quarto capitolo (183-213) Chaaya va alla ricerca del genere retorico e di quello letterario della sezione presa in esame, sottolineando come tale ricerca sia possibile solo dopo l'identificazione della *dispositio*. Per quanto riguarda il genere retorico scarta l'ipotesi classica del giudiziario (un'*apologia*), optando per l'epidittico. In questo contesto si ricorre anche al testo di 12,19, basandosi su un'interpretazione della sua punteggiatura, data per acquisita mentre non lo è, che quindi andrebbe quantomeno discussa (189). Comunque il genere epidittico appare quello prevalente perché, pur essendo presenti elementi apologetici, il biasimo (degli avversari) e l'elogio (di Paolo) utilizzati nel brano sono finalizzati al cambio di mentalità dei Corinzi, veri destinatari del testo. D'altra parte, il genere letterario più rispondente alla logica del brano non è quello della *parousia* apostolica, oppure della *chreia*, ma quello della *periautologia*, come già era stato segnalato nel secondo capitolo. Ora l'autrice si profonde in un attento confronto tra questa forma e il testo di 2 Cor 10-13, mostrando come Paolo la utilizzi in maniera originale e paradossale, vantandosi non dei suoi successi, ma delle sue debolezze perché in esse dimora tutta la potenza di Dio. Pur concordando pienamente con tali conclusioni, da parte nostra ci saremmo aspettati che Chaaya almeno richiamasse il processo di *transfert* tipico della *periautologia* (nella monografia si utilizza più volte L. Pernot, "*Periautologia*. Problèmes et méthodes de l'éloge de soi-même dans la tradition éthique et rhétorique gréco-ro-

maine", *RÉG* 111 [1998] 101-124, che ne tratta abbondantemente) che conduce in 12,2-5 l'Apostolo fino a vantarsi di sé come di un-altro-da-sé.

La seconda parte del lavoro è dedicata al messaggio di 2 Cor 10-13 alla luce della sua *dispositio* retorica. Il quinto capitolo (217-239) intende da subito compiere il passaggio dalla *dispositio* al messaggio teologico, partendo dalle caratteristiche formali della retorica paolina, dispiegata nella sezione, e giungendo poi ad analizzare il relativo uso del paradosso e l'ironia. Secondo l'autrice, il linguaggio del testo è finalizzato a provare l'autenticità dell'apostolato di Paolo e la sua autorità derivante da Dio, mentre l'ironia e il paradosso della "forza nella debolezza" servono all'edificazione della comunità, per trasformare il modo di pensare dei Corinzi influenzato dalla logica dell'onore e del successo. L'Apostolo, mettendosi nella veste del folle, fa la parodia di ciò che è normalmente accettato per arrivare, progressivamente, a vantarsi delle proprie debolezze, diventando così un folle in Cristo.

Il sesto e ultimo capitolo (241-285) si occupa del più importante tema teologico che emerge dalla *dispositio* retorica di 2 Cor 10-13: il *curriculum vitae* dell'Apostolo. Così nell'argomentazione paolina non si assiste alla preoccupazione di rispondere alle critiche sulla legittimità del suo *status* di apostolo, bensì a quella di dimostrare con il proprio *modus operandi* le caratteristiche del vero apostolo. L'autrice comincia dunque dai segni del vero apostolato per indicare, poi, che esso comporta un'inevitabile sofferenza nel generoso servizio della comunità, la quale, a sua volta, è chiamata a una continua formazione e crescita nella fede. In definitiva l'itinerario di Paolo riproduce quello di Cristo, e di questi crocifisso (cf. 13,4), mentre il suo rapporto con i Corinzi è da vivere a immagine e con riferimento alla stessa comunione trinitaria (cf. 13,13).

Nella conclusione (287-291) Chaaya riassume i risultati del suo studio, sottolineando come esso fornisca una nuova chiave di comprensione della dinamica e della logica del testo, basate su una *periautologia* paradossale che capovolge la scala dei valori dei Corinzi. Da qui l'autrice suggerisce dei possibili ulteriori sviluppi del suo lavoro. Il libro si chiude con i consueti indici e con la bibliografia.

In una considerazione generale sulla monografia, si notano troppi errori di digitazione, presenti soprattutto nella prima parte del testo, che si sarebbero potuti evitare grazie ad una più attenta revisione editoriale prima della pubblicazione. Inoltre il lavoro è scritto in un inglese ricercato, con il rischio, talvolta, di riuscire di difficile comprensione. Nonostante questi limiti e quelli ricordati nell'articolazione del libro, non possiamo che riconoscere il valore della ricerca effettuata da Chaaya. Anzitutto l'autrice si serve di una bibliografia molto ricca e aggiornata in diverse lingue e dà prova di conoscere i testi classici dai quali attinge per approfondire la retorica paolina. La sua interpretazione dell'argomentazione di 2 Cor 10-13 è convincente e ben motivata, dimostrando di possedere piena-

mente gli strumenti dell'analisi retorico-letteraria. Anzi più volte le sue opportune e precise osservazioni metodologiche vanno a costituire indicazioni importanti anche per tutti coloro che si muovono in questa prospettiva. Inoltre Chaaya si distingue per la sua attenzione a collegare strettamente la retorica alla teologia, la composizione del testo al suo contenuto, mostrando così l'utilità del suo studio e aprendo la strada a ulteriori approfondimenti in questa direzione.

Insomma questa monografia di Chaaya dovrà sicuramente essere considerata in futuro sia da coloro che studieranno la sezione di 2 Cor 10–13, sia da coloro che utilizzeranno la metodologia dell'analisi retorico-letteraria. Infine, se questi sono gli inizi, non possiamo non attendere con fiducia i prossimi lavori della giovane esegeta.

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Volker RABENS, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul. Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life* (WUNT II/283), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010, xvi-378 p. 15,5 × 23. €69.

The question of how, according to Paul, the Holy Spirit empowers Christians for religious-ethical living is the subject of this carefully-researched and well-written monograph, an updated version of the author's doctoral dissertation defended at the London School of Theology under the direction of Max Turner. The book has two main parts. After an introductory chapter (1-24), Rabens in Part I (chapters 2-3) critiques an approach that is common in (German) scholarship of the last 140 years, the *infusion-transformation* approach, representing those scholars who think that Paul viewed the ethical life as "enabled through the transformation of the inner nature of a person by the infusion with a material πνεῦμα" (18-19). In chapter 2 (25-79), he considers evidence for this model in Graeco-Roman literature and in Judaism, while in chapter 3 (80-120), he examines the texts in Paul's letters that have been interpreted in terms of this model. In Part II (chapters 4-6), R. makes his original contribution in his "new approach to the ethical work of the Spirit in Paul" (123), which is a relational model of ethical empowerment by the Spirit, in which "it is primarily through deeper knowledge of, and an intimate relationship with, God, Jesus Christ and with the community of faith that people are transformed and empowered by the Spirit for religious-ethical life" (21; 123). After presenting the terms and elements of this relational model in chapter 4 (123-145), in chapter 5 he considers evidence for it in early Jewish and Graeco-Roman literature (146-170), and then turns, in chapter 6, to a detailed discussion of Pauline texts associated with his model (171-242).

There follows a short chapter of conclusions (245-252), after which comes a lengthy appendix (253-306) providing a critical overview of the history-of-research on the Spirit and ethics in Paul over the last 140 years. This appendix is another significant contribution of the book, as it fills a gap in English-language research. The end matter includes a bibliography of mostly English and German sources with several in French (307-342), followed by three helpful indices.

In Part I, R. critiques what he calls the “infusion-transformation” approach to Paul’s view on the Holy Spirit and ethics (18-20; cf. 127, Diagram 1). With this term, R. means a model that includes two basic concepts: ontic (or substance-ontological) change achieved by the Spirit at baptism; and the material (*stofflich*) nature of the Spirit (4). R. traces these concepts from 19th century German scholars such as Ernesti and Gunkel, through the early Käsemann and Stuhlmacher, up to contemporary scholars such as F. W. Horn and T. Engberg-Pedersen, who are among R.’s principal dialogue partners throughout the book. In chapter 2, R. examines Hellenistic sources for the presence of these two concepts, and concludes that while the Stoics did indeed have a materialistic pneumatology, there is no evidence (at least up to 100 CE) of a Stoic ethic based on a substantive transformation brought about by the infusion of such a material spirit (33; 35; 79). With regard to Jewish sources, R. cautions against scholars’ attempts to interpret metaphors related to the Spirit in the Old Testament and other Jewish literature in a philosophical way; moreover, while Philo does refer to the πνεῦμα in abstract language, there is not much evidence in his writings for a material concept of the Spirit. No Jewish source, R. also concludes, puts forth the concept of infusion-transformation.

In chapter 3, R. investigates the Pauline texts used by Horn and others in support of the infusion-transformation approach: 1 Cor 15,44, regarding the alleged material nature of the Spirit; and 1 Cor 12,13; 6,11; and 10,3-4, regarding the alleged infusion by the material spirit through the sacraments. He convincingly concludes that there is no evidence that Paul held to the concept of a material spirit, nor to the concept of ethical empowering by the substance-transformation resulting from the infusion of such a material spirit (119-120; 248). At times, R. offers a nuanced discussion of certain disputed texts, such as his consideration of whether βαπτίζεῖν in 1 Cor 12,13a refers to the sacrament of baptism (as many hold) or to a non-sacramental “baptism in the Spirit” (Dunn, Fee), concluding that “Paul reminds the Corinthians of their common experience of the one Spirit at their baptism” (108). In other places, some further clarifications would be helpful. For example, R. (82) critiques Horn’s use of the scholastic concept of *forma substantialis* to refer to the Spirit’s indwelling presence in the believer, citing Aquinas’ definition of *forma substantialis* (82, n. 12). He fails to clarify, however, that Aquinas himself does not describe the presence of the Spirit as *forma substantialis*; Aquinas instead explains that grace is a *forma*

accidentalis of the soul (*S. Th.* I-II.110.2; cf. I.76.4). Were it not for an occasional disclaimer (248), one might get the false impression that R. has critiqued all views in which an ontological effect of the Spirit in baptism is affirmed, where in reality he has just critiqued a narrow form of this view that goes back to the history-of-religions school (120). R. might thus do better calling the approach he critiques the “material-spirit approach”. It would also be helpful if R. interacted with a work such as R. Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul* (tr. G.R. Beasley-Murray) (New York 1964) (a revised edition of the 1950 German original), which deals with Pauline pneumatology and ethics in relation to baptism.

In contrast to the “static” approach he critiques, R. presents in Part II his own “relational” approach (128, Diagram 2), which involves a “dynamic” transformation and empowering for religious-ethical life (129). He lists various ways in which relationships in Paul’s letters are highlighted (133-137), such as Paul’s use of family-language to describe a believer’s relationship with God and with other believers. His model thus emphasizes the aspect of “experience” (of God and of others) in ethically transforming and empowering believers (131-132). By speaking of “transforming relationships” (141), R. seeks to include both ontological and relational aspects, striking a balance between pairs of terms often understood as opposites (“relational versus substance-ontological [...] new self-understanding versus a completely new self”; 143).

In chapter 5, R. considers possible parallels to his model. He finds support for his approach, especially in texts from Qumran and Philo, concluding that “Paul was part of a milieu in which the ethical work of the Spirit was often [...] linked to deeper knowledge of and an intimate relationship with God and with the community of faith” (170).

R. turns in chapter 6 to texts in Paul’s letters related to his relational approach. He treats both sides of the indicative/imperative problem by explaining that a believer “is now able to live according to God’s precepts” (the indicative of initial transformation) but “there is need for continual empowering for religious-ethical life” (to fulfill the imperative) (173; cf. 250-252). The goal is that the life of the believer becomes more “christomorphic” (173). Regarding the aspect of transformation by the Spirit, R. discusses 2 Cor 3,18, explaining that it presents a concept of “transformation through contemplation” (202), involving deeper knowledge of and encounter with God. For the aspect of empowering, R. discusses Rom 8,12-17, explaining that one is ethically empowered by the adoptive filial relationship with God. R. also emphasizes the communal work of the Spirit, reflecting briefly on texts such as Rom 1,11-12; 1 Cor 12,7; and Phil 2,1-2.

While much of what R. describes in Part II is enriching and stimulating, at times one has the impression that he has not sufficiently emphasized what is distinctive about Paul’s Spirit-based ethic (cf. 304), namely, that for Paul what matters is that it is the “Spirit of Christ” (Rom 8,9).

For example, in discussing the implications of his work for the study of early Judaism, R. comments that “there is a wide variety of Jewish literature in which the Spirit is comprehended as a moral agent” such that “ethical life is comprehended as being empowered by deeper knowledge of God and an intimate relationship with him and with the community of faith” (247). This description, however, is virtually the same as his description of Paul’s Spirit-based ethic (except that for the latter, R. also adds the relationship with Christ), such that Paul’s emphasis on the inability of human beings to live according to God’s precepts, apart from Christ, is somewhat obscured. Similarly, when discussing the implications of his work for Pauline pneumatology, he writes that “Paul’s pneumatology is firmly rooted in early Jewish thought” (249), but he does not mention that Paul’s pneumatology is also dependent on his christology. On this whole subject, it would be helpful to consult R. Penna, *Lo Spirito di Cristo. Cristologia e pneumatologia secondo un’originale formulazione paolina* (SRivBib 7; Brescia 1976). Moreover, at an exegetical level, the relationship between the Spirit and Christ might appear more clearly by better correlating the discussion of the Spirit in Rom 8 with that of new life in Christ through baptism in Rom 6.

Regarding further work, it would be interesting to consider R.’s approach in dialogue with earlier Christian tradition. For example, the recent monograph by M. Gorman, *Inhabiting the Cruciform God. Kenosis, Justification, and Theosis in Paul’s Narrative Soteriology* (Grand Rapids, MI 2009), focuses on Spirit-enabled conformity to Christ by highlighting the Christian tradition of theosis or deification. R. understandably limits himself in his *Forschungsgeschichte* to the last 140 years; nevertheless, a few strategic soundings from patristic sources might be helpful. In this regard, see also B.C. Blackwell, *Christosis. Pauline Soteriology in Light of Deification in Irenaeus and Cyril of Alexandria* (WUNT II/314; Tübingen 2011).

On account of its thorough review of the history of research and its original proposal emphasizing the importance of transforming relationships, R.’s monograph will surely generate more investigation into the subject of the Holy Spirit and ethics in Paul’s letters. It will be of benefit not only to exegetes, but also to systematic theologians and ethicists.

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David LINCICUM, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy* (WUNT 284). Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010, xiii-289 p. 15,5 × 23. €64

Cresce sempre più, nell'ambito degli studi paolini, l'interesse e lo studio per i riferimenti e gli utilizzi scritturistici nell'epistolario di Paolo, in particolare nelle *Hauptbriefe*. I risultati permettono di sostanziare e confermare quello che altri generi di studi vanno da tempo indicando, a partire soprattutto dal famosissimo studio di E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism. A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia 1977). Essi hanno messo in luce l'ebraicità di Paolo, e in particolare i riferimenti e strutture di pensiero, di lettura e interpretazione della storia salvifica assunti dal contesto giudaico con la conseguenza di percepire meglio il tipo di differenziazione che l'evento cristiano ha prodotto. Lo studio di Lincicum si inserisce in questo vasto campo di studi con un apporto che è da salutare con interesse.

Innanzitutto è bene rilevare l'originalità della ricerca. Essa intende delineare la ricezione del libro del Deuteronomio nelle lettere paoline inserendolo e esaminandolo nel flusso di ricezioni giudaiche dello stesso libro dal 3° secolo a.C. al 3° secolo d.C. Questa impostazione implica alcuni presupposti. Il primo è che il libro del Deuteronomio è, nel mondo giudaico in questione, distinguibile come tale, con una propria fisionomia e caratteristiche, e che è recepito, letto e interpretato nella sua totalità di significato e non semplicemente come ricettacolo di citazioni o norme da utilizzare e commentare. Questo assunto vale anche per Paolo, il quale dimostra così — ed è il secondo presupposto — di collocarsi perfettamente nel suo ambito giudaico, condividendo con esso modi e motivi di interesse per il quinto libro del Pentateuco, pur distinguendosi per una lettura innovativa e sorprendente, ma non avulsa dal suo contesto di origine.

Dopo una breve introduzione (1-17) in cui sono presentati i motivi, i principali assunti di base e il tipo di approccio della ricerca, il volume è suddiviso in due parti. La prima (21-58) cerca di delineare i modi propri giudaici di ricezione degli scritti biblici, e in particolare di Deuteronomio, attraverso la liturgia sinagogale, la preghiera personale, estratti di testo di vario tipo, l'uso di *tefillim* e *mezuzot*, che vanno oltre il classico e spesso ipotetico incontro con il rotolo intero o codice. Paolo quindi ha incontrato e assimilato il libro del Deuteronomio — e nella versione greca — non come testo di studio a tavolino, ma nel flusso di lettura e memorizzazione propri del contesto del giudaismo del Secondo Tempio, attraverso la sua personale educazione (49-52) e la partecipazione alla vita culturale della sinagoga (53-55). Questo tipo di presentazione del modo in cui Paolo ha assunto, come i suoi contemporanei, la conoscenza di Deuteronomio, offre alcuni vantaggi. Innanzitutto il suo realismo ben documentato, che permette di superare facilmente le varie ipotesi sui presunti *Testimonia* che non hanno mai avuto un avvaloramento fondato. In se-

condo luogo tale ricezione di Deuteronomio è al contempo globale e nello stesso tempo focalizzata su alcune sezioni importanti (Dt 5,1-6,9; 10,12-11,21 e 32,1-43). Infine, come viene bene illustrato, il problema del tipo di testo che Paolo può avere utilizzato è più facilmente risolvibile tenendo conto della diffusa utilizzazione del greco nelle sinagoghe giudaiche del tempo e del fattore di memorizzazione, e quindi di una certa flessibilità, tipico della assunzione dei testi biblici nel contesto culturale del tempo.

La seconda parte dello studio, la più consistente, è suddivisa in 6 capitoli in cui sono passati in rassegna i vari autori o contesti giudaici e la ricezione del Deuteronomio nei loro scritti. Una traiettoria che parte da Qumran (64-85), passa per gli Apocrifi e Pseudoepigrafi (86-99), Filone (100-116), arriva a Paolo (117-168) e prosegue con Giuseppe Flavio (169-183), con il *Sifre* su Deuteronomio e i Targumim (184-192). La conclusione di questa parte (193-201) riprende i dati raccolti per delineare nel contesto globale le caratteristiche del Deuteronomio di Paolo. Tale rassegna segue una sommaria linea cronologica per situare l'appropriazione paolina del Deuteronomio nel suo contesto. L'autore non pretende di analizzare tutti i singoli passaggi o scritti in cui il quinto libro del Pentateuco è preso in considerazione, ma piuttosto di far percepire attraverso di essi il tipo e i mezzi di appropriazione proprio di ogni autore o gruppo di scritti.

La prima impressione è che le presentazioni delle varie ricezioni di Deuteronomio di cui si interessa l'autore siano alquanto sintetiche se non sommarie. Questo naturalmente può prestare il fianco a critiche da parte degli esperti dei vari autori o gruppi di scritti presentati. L'autore mi sembra però che riesca a districarsi bene nei vari meandri della ricerca, anzitutto avvalendosi di un'ottima bibliografia secondaria, percorrendo quindi il suo cammino sulle "spalle di giganti", e in secondo luogo, non pretendendo entrare in tutti i dettagli, riesce a cogliere gli elementi essenziali nella sua rassegna attraverso una griglia di interessi che sono piuttosto globali: la ricezione di Deuteronomio, le parti che sono sfruttate, gli interessi che emergono, quali chiavi interpretative ne risultano.

Il risultato appare dunque pertinente ed efficace e offre un quadro piuttosto ampio e pertanto ben delineato. I dati emersi permettono di dire che il Deuteronomio, attraverso soprattutto l'impiego liturgico e educativo, si staglia nel mondo scritturistico con le sue proprie caratteristiche e influenza la vita e il pensiero del giudaismo del Secondo Tempio nel suo ampio spettro di correnti. Citato, "riscritto", parafrasato e commentato, l'ultimo libro del Pentateuco offre in particolare motivi di interesse etico, normativo, teologico. Ma più di tutto ciò che motiva il suo utilizzo e riferimento è — come si esprime Lincicum — il duplice fattore di prognosi sulla situazione del popolo e le sue infedeltà all'Alleanza, ma anche di diagnosi per la futura restaurazione di Israele e le condizioni di questa.

In questo ampio contesto l'autore colloca anche la ricezione di Deuteronomio da parte di Paolo. Una prima rassegna delle citazioni e più im-

portanti allusioni (117-122) permette all'autore di prospettare alcune caratteristiche e modalità d'uso: l'uso abbastanza importante (18 occorrenze almeno) ristretto tuttavia alle *Hauptbriefe*; l'estensione a quasi tutto il libro di Deuteronomio, con la preferenza però per alcuni passaggi in modo simile ad altri autori giudaici e la fondamentale dipendenza da una *Vorlage* greca. Il tutto mette Deuteronomio accanto ad altri importanti riferimenti scritturistici tipici paolini come Genesi, Isaia e Salmi.

L'analisi dell'utilizzo di Deuteronomio nelle lettere paoline è abbastanza accurata e avviene attraverso una griglia di lettura secondo tre scanzioni: Deuteronomio come autorità etica (122-137), Deuteronomio come autorità teologica (137-142) e Deuteronomio come lettura della storia di Israele (142-167).

Per ciò che riguarda l'autorevolezza per l'etica paolina di Deuteronomio, l'autore considera diversi passi in cui la parenesi è sostanziata, confermata o indicata attraverso prestiti dal Deuteronomio. Il risultato però evidenzia come questa autorevolezza sia sempre all'interno della prospettiva teologica e cristologica che Paolo impone alle sue parenesi. Deuteronomio funziona come istanza etica ma non direttamente, ma all'interno dell'orizzonte di argomentazione cristologica paolina che informa la riflessione etica.

Deuteronomio, secondo Lincicum, funziona inoltre, in alcuni casi, come motivo autorevole di affermazioni teologiche paoline. Si tratta invero di allusioni, in particolare allo *Shema* ' o a classiche affermazioni sulla unicità di Dio, sulla sua fedeltà e imparzialità. Le evidenze a mio parere non sono così chiare, ma è possibile che la teologia di Deuteronomio abbia offerto spunti alla riflessione paolina, ma ancor più vale l'inverso: è la cristologia di Paolo che mette in luce tutta la portata teologica di alcune affermazioni di Deuteronomio come sottolinea lo stesso autore.

La parte più interessante dello studio di Lincicum è sicuramente il tentativo di lettura globale attraverso i testi citati da Paolo di Dt 27-32, in cui si riesce a scorgere al medesimo tempo le tracce della diagnosi e prognosi della situazione di Israele che questi capitoli offrono, ma al contempo la rilettura cristologica di questi che ne illuminano e amplificano le implicazioni. È una sorpresa trovare una tale lucidità di lettura intertestuale. L'autore si districa in testi e temi difficilissimi come la maledizione della legge e i suoi motivi in Gal 3, la situazione di Israele e la sua «salvezza» in Rm 9-11 avventurandosi in una esegesi intertestuale di Rm 10,5-8, Rm 10,19-21, Rm 11,8 e tutti i vari rimandi che questi testi comportano. Il risultato è molto buono, l'autore riesce a presentare una sintesi appropriata e convincente che mette in luce la interconnessione tra fedeltà al dato scritturistico e la innovativa lettura cristologica di Paolo che giustamente evidenzia come le Scritture e il Vangelo in Paolo siano mutualmente interpretative (leggere in particolare le pagine 167-168 a riguardo). Peccato che l'autore paia ignorare completamente le tecniche interpretative e retoriche paoline che gli avrebbero permesso una maggiore consistenza nei

suoi argomenti. L'incicium sembra non conoscere la *gezerah shawah*, eppure così presente in Gal 3,10.13 e Rm 11,8, e nemmeno la *synkresis* di Rm 10,5-8, come non considera tutti i cambiamenti e adattamenti significativi che Paolo opera sui testi scritturistici. Del resto questo è il solo appunto che mi sembra degno di nota in questo ottimo lavoro: esso si dimostra troppo sbilanciato nella affermazione che Paolo si è appropriato di Deuteronomio come per osmosi attraverso l'educazione e la liturgia giudaica, mentre tiene poco in conto tutto il minuzioso e a volte ardito lavoro di composizione e rilettura dei testi attraverso le tecniche retoriche e le modalità classiche e imperative di interpretazione dei testi tipiche giudaiche. I due aspetti andrebbero meglio evidenziati nella loro possibile connessione e efficacia per l'ermeneutica paolina delle Scritture.

Un simile lavoro rende più che mai lampante come l'esegesi, a tutti i livelli, debba ormai confrontarsi seriamente sulla stretta connessione, non solo esegetica, ma squisitamente teologica, tra il NT e le Scritture di Israele per arrivare a una sintesi che permetta una agognata e quanto ancora non realizzata vera teologia biblica.

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Pierre GIBERT, *L'invention critique de la Bible. XV — XVIII^e siècle* (Bibliothèque des Histoires; Paris: Gallimard, 2010). 377 p. 14 × 22,5. € 21,00

“Si on choque les principes de la raison notre religion sera absurde et ridicule” (Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, Lafuma, 173). Cette citation que le lecteur trouvera en exergue p. 84 donne le ton à tout l’ouvrage de P. Gibert qui nous a offert, dans un passé récent, deux éditions critiques d’auteurs français dont l’influence sur l’exégèse critique de l’Ancien Testament a été décisive. Le premier est Jean Astruc (1753), *Conjectures sur la Genèse* (Noësis, Paris 1999) et le second, Richard Simon (1678), *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Bayard, Paris 2008). Tout ceci pour dire que P. Gibert était admirablement préparé pour retracer les grandes étapes de la lecture critique de la Bible depuis Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) jusqu’à Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827).

Le but de l’ouvrage est de montrer comment et pourquoi l’exégèse biblique a abandonné la lecture allégorique des Pères et l’usage exclusif de la Vulgate pour retourner aux textes originaux et les lire comme les classiques latins et grecs. Il veut aussi montrer comment le texte biblique, mis à la disposition d’un plus grand public grâce à l’invention de l’imprimerie, devient l’objet de questions nouvelles concernant sa “vérité”. En effet, la lecture critique de la Bible se permet de poser à la Bible les questions qu’une personne cultivée et intelligente est en droit de se poser devant n’importe quel écrit, qu’il soit sacré ou non.

L’ouvrage de P. Gibert compte trois parties et trente-deux chapitres. Il est accompagné d’une bibliographie, d’une chronologie, d’une carte d’Europe et d’un index des noms. Il est bien sûr impossible de rendre compte de l’ensemble du volume en ces quelques lignes.

La première partie parle des débuts de la critique (37-127). On y rencontre des noms connus comme Érasme, Luther, Calvin, Castellion, Isaac de La Peyrère, Walton, ou Jean Morin. Mais le premier nom est sans doute moins habituel. P.G. considère en effet qu’un des initiateurs de la lecture critique est Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457). Il est un précurseur pour deux raisons principales. Tout d’abord parce qu’il introduit quelques éléments de critique des documents en démontrant que la *Donation de Constantin* n’a pu être écrite au quatrième, mais bien au huitième siècle. Sa conclusion est basée sur l’étude du latin employé par le texte. Bien longtemps avant Mabillon, il réussit donc à dater un texte grâce à l’étude de sa langue et de son style (*De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione* – 1440). En second lieu, Lorenzo Valla est un pionnier de la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament. En effet, il compare la traduction latine de la Vulgate avec les manuscrits grecs en sa possession au nom de la *veritas graeca*. Les résultats de ses travaux sont collationnés dans deux ouvrages, la *Collatio Novi Tes-*

tamenti (1442) et *In Novum Testamentum Adnotationes* qui sera publié par Erasme en 1505, soit cinquante ans après sa mort. Même si son projet est davantage centré sur la qualité de la traduction latine que sur la critique textuelle du texte grec du Nouveau Testament, il valait la peine de souligner l'importance de ce travail de précurseur.

La discussion qui s'instaure entre Érasme et Luther à propos de la clarté des Écritures (*divina claritas*) est elle aussi très instructive. Le dialogue entre Réforme et Renaissance n'est pas toujours aussi simple qu'on a pu le présenter parfois, tout comme il était déjà difficile de concilier les impératifs pastoraux de divulgation avec les exigences académiques de la recherche (63). C'est bien pourquoi Luther, tout en étant pertinemment conscient des difficultés du texte, défend la clarté fondamentale des Écritures contre Érasme que ses propres travaux critiques empêchaient bien évidemment d'être d'accord avec son adversaire.

La deuxième partie, intitulée *La critique en quête d'elle-même* (129-201), montre surtout combien la philosophie a influencé la critique biblique. Louis Meyer, Baruch Spinoza et, bien sûr, Richard Simon sont les grands noms qui émergent dans cette seconde partie. En quelques mots, la philosophie plus humaniste et plus immanente de Meyer et de Spinoza ouvre la voie à une exégèse plus attentive à l'histoire et à ses problèmes. La Bible est lue avec les yeux attentifs de l'historien par Richard Simon et non pas avec la longue-vue du théologien en quête de dogmes éternels, comme le faisait par exemple Bossuet. Cette histoire est à la fois enquête sur les origines et sur les processus de transmission des textes bibliques. Richard Simon est l'un des premiers, sinon le premier à avoir parlé de tradition orale à ce propos.

La troisième partie, plus longue (203-325), traite de l'invention de la critique. Le premier chapitre est consacré à Bossuet, précisément, et aux fâcheuses répercussions que sa condamnation de Richard Simon eut sur l'exégèse catholique en général et française en particulier. Bien des préjugés contre l'exégèse critique sont nés à cette époque et, malheureusement, il faut le dire, ils sont encore bien vivants aujourd'hui. P. Gibert se penche alors sur l'œuvre de Richard Simon pour en étudier les tenants et les aboutissants. Parmi les précurseurs de Richard Simon, il cite deux grands auteurs juifs, Ibn Ezra (1093-1167) et Elias Levita (1470-1549). Ce dernier est né en Allemagne, en Franconie; il émigre d'abord à Venise, puis à Rome, pour retourner à Venise lors du sac de Rome par les lansquenets de Charles-Quint en 1527. Il s'illustre en particulier par ses études sur la massore du texte hébreu et on lui doit une découverte fondamentale pour l'exégèse critique de la bible hébraïque: le caractère tardif des signes de la ponctuation vocaliques et des signes de cantilation. Ces signes ne sont pas connus des grands maîtres du Talmud et du Midrash parce que ajoutés par les grammairiens de Tibériade entre le IX^{ème} et le X^{ème} siècle. La chose est d'importance. En effet, cela signifie que le texte sacré lui-

même a été modifié au cours des siècles et qu'il porte clairement les signes d'interventions au service de l'interprétation d'un texte dont il devenait de plus en plus difficile d'établir le sens avec certitude. Il est donc essentiel de distinguer dans le texte hébraïque deux éléments de valeur différente, le texte consonantique, plus ancien, et les signes vocaliques et ceux de la cantilation qui sont beaucoup plus récents.

Cette partie résume ensuite quelques discussions essentielles de Richard Simon, en particulier sur l'inspiration. Pour ce dernier, en effet, la critique s'impose parce que nous ne possédons aucune version originale du texte inspiré. En second lieu, l'inspiration n'est pas un monopole de quelques grandes personnalités comme Moïse ou les prophètes. Elle s'étend aussi aux "écrivains publics" qui, tout au long de l'histoire d'Israël, ont transmis les textes sacrés, parfois en les modifiant ou en les complétant.

Après s'être longuement penché sur l'œuvre de Richard Simon, P. Gibert s'interroge sur sa postérité. Trop souvent en effet, il a été dit que Richard Simon avait été oublié. Ce n'est pas exactement le cas, pourtant, car il exerça une grande influence sur l'exégèse britannique et allemande, entre autres sur Eichhorn et Ilgen. L'œuvre exégétique de Eichhorn allait à son tour servir de modèle à F.A. Wolf pour ses *Prolegomena zu Homer* (1795) qui eurent un grand retentissement dans les études classiques et bibliques.

Par ailleurs, en France, le siècle des Lumières connaît différentes attitudes. Voltaire tourne volontiers la religion et la Bible en dérision, Diderot est plus équilibré — même si cela étonne — et un Robert Challe est radical dans son rejet de la vérité des récits bibliques au nom d'une raison toute-puissante. C'est dans l'art et dans la musique en particulier que la Bible continue à exercer une influence non négligeable avant la révolution de 1789.

Dans le monde de la critique, l'essai de Jean Astruc semble avoir obtenu le résultat inverse de celui escompté par son auteur. Celui-ci voulait avant tout défendre ou sauver l'autorité de Moïse en expliquant qu'il avait utilisé des "mémoires". Mais il allait ouvrir la porte à l'hypothèse documentaire et la critique allait très vite avoir en main tous les arguments nécessaires pour prouver que Moïse ne pouvait en aucune manière être l'auteur du Pentateuque.

L'ouvrage de P. Gibert montre aussi, et c'est un de ses mérites, que l'étude critique de la Bible a rencontré des difficultés de tout genre. Citons quelques exemples plus significatifs. Sébastien Castellion (ou Châtillon; 1515-1563) fut expulsé de Genève par Jean Calvin qu'il avait critiqué lors du procès et de la condamnation à mort du catalan Michel Servet, exécuté le 27 octobre 1553. Castellion publia ensuite son *De haereticis an sint persequendi* (1554). Les rapports entre Castellion et Calvin s'étaient déjà dégradés en raison de certaines lectures littérales de la Bible, entre autres du Cantique des Cantiques, que Calvin n'avait pas appréciées. Calvin lui-même condamna à la destruction la traduction française de Cas-

tellion, entre autres parce que ce dernier avait complété les Écritures qu'il jugeait "imparfaites". Il leur manquait toute une partie de l'histoire entre l'époque des Maccabées et le Nouveau Testament. D'où l'initiative de Castellion d'introduire dans son édition de la Bible les chapitres correspondants dans l'œuvre de Flavius Josèphe qui couvrent cette période, chose que Calvin et d'autres ne pouvaient certainement pas admettre. En 1697, un étudiant d'Édimbourg, âgé de dix-huit ans, sera pendu haut et court pour avoir affirmé que Moïse pratiquait la magie égyptienne et qu'Esdras était le véritable auteur du Pentateuque (113, n. 1). Isaac de la Peyrère (1596-1676) avait affirmé l'existence des pré-adamites, c'est-à-dire d'une population humaine qui avait précédé dans le temps la création d'Adam dont parle la Bible. Moïse avait donc dû connaître et utiliser des documents plus anciens et il devenait difficile de lui attribuer la rédaction de tout le Pentateuque. Il fut emprisonné à Bruxelles en 1656 suite à un ordre du vicaire général de Malines. Il ne sortit du cachot qu'au prix d'une rétractation et de sa conversion au catholicisme. Les 1.300 volumes de l'*Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* de Richard Simon, publiée par Louis Billaine à Paris en 1678 furent mis sous scellés puis brûlés sur la place publique à Paris. L'instigateur de cet autodafé ne fut personne d'autre que Bossuet qui, semble-t-il, n'avait lu que la table des matières et s'était scandalisé d'y découvrir que Moïse n'avait sans doute pas écrit tout le Pentateuque de sa main. Richard Simon se retrouva bientôt relégué dans sa Normandie natale. Baruch Spinoza fut accusé d'athéisme et exclu de la synagogue. Ajoutons qu'il fut aidé par quelques-uns de ses amis et gagna sa vie en fabriquant des verres de lunette. Certains pourront dire avec Soloviev que l'exégèse biblique a quelque chose de diabolique. Les adversaires de l'exégèse critique, quant à eux, n'ont pas toujours employé des moyens évangéliques pour défendre leurs positions.

Signalons deux brouilles pour terminer: il y a confusion, me semble-t-il, entre les *Critici sacri* de Walton et la *Polyglotte d'Angleterre* (272); Ibn Ezra est né à Tudela en Navarre et non à Tolède (234).

Toujours est-il que ce volume est le bienvenu sur les rayons de nos bibliothèques qui se garnissent, ces derniers temps, de nombreux ouvrages intéressants sur l'histoire de l'exégèse. Il permettra de mieux apprécier les mérites et l'utilité de l'exégèse critique.

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Jean Louis SKA

Rainer METZNER, *Kaiphās. Der Hohepriester jenes Jahres*. Geschichte und Deutung (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 75), Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2010. xviii–458 p. 22 Tafeln. 16,5 × 25. €162 - \$230.00

The question this study is trying to answer is: “Wer war Kaiphās wirklich?” (xiv). Scholarly interest in the history of the Jewish high priesthood, in general, has increased significantly in the last decade. Among these studies, there are those which deal with individuals who served as high priests in Jerusalem. But none of them has received so much attention as has Caiaphas (18–36 CE). Two other published books appeared on this historical figure: H.K. Bond, *Caiaphas. Friend of Rome and Judge of Jesus?* (Louisville, KY 2004), A. Reinhartz, *Caiaphas the High Priest* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament 9; Columbia, SC 2011). The book under review, however, is the most voluminous of the three. The question that in a way unites these studies is: How did Caiaphas manage to remain active for such a long time, given the complicated history of Roman Judea?

The present monograph consists of an introduction, eight chapters, bibliography (409–434), and references to 22 tables (435–436), followed by an author/subject index (437–440), index of ancient sources (441–458). In his foreword, M. announces two main tasks: First, historically to reconstruct the religious and political activity of Caiaphas; second, to analyze the way Caiaphas has been portrayed in various sources up to the present time. Therefore, this study is not only of an exegetical and historical nature. It also considers the *Wirkungsgeschichte* in order to study the personality of Caiaphas as perceived and depicted from the Church Fathers and other ancient sources, up to modern times. Indeed, the amount of various types of sources consulted, which cover roughly twenty centuries, is impressive. From this point of view, this study opens some new and important horizons.

In the title as well as in his introduction, M. highlights the important aspect of Caiaphas’ activity as “the high priest of that year” (John 11,49.51; 18,13), that is, the year when the Jesus of the Gospels was sentenced to death. As is usually the case with other personages, the NT authors do not provide details on the past activity of Caiaphas. His importance surfaces especially in the stories about the trial of Jesus. M. stresses repeatedly that the Gospels are not only meant to be factual but are theologically motivated. Furthermore, while M. acknowledges the importance of the study of the trial of Jesus, he believes it tells us little about the historical Caiaphas. The Gospels very often offer a (later) theological reading of what actually happened to Jesus. This reading was ultimately generated by conflicts with the Jewish high priesthood, as experienced by the first followers of Jesus (e.g. Acts 4). Thus, Caiaphas began to be depicted more and more as an antagonist to Jesus. Hence, part of the responsibility in condemning Jesus to death was assigned to him by Christian redactors. The same holds true for the examination of Jesus by

the Sanhedrin. This aspect indeed dominates the following chapters.

Chapter one (1-33) begins with a survey of the history of the Jewish high priesthood as an office. Focus is then upon the cultic and political role played by the high priests at the time of Jesus. The high priests were mostly Sadducees. In particular, M. discusses their relation to both the temple priesthood and the Roman officials, who normally appointed the high priest in Jerusalem. As such, Caiaphas was at the same time both a Jewish high priest and a Roman appointee in Judea. This chapter, however, is less concerned about the authority (religious or moral) which the Jerusalem high priest might have represented for Jews living, for example, in Galilee.

Chapter two, the longest of all (35-176), attempts to deal with the career of Caiaphas from his childhood to his becoming high priest, and then his dealings with Pontius Pilate and the followers of Jesus, until his death. Separate parts of this reconstruction are imaginative or at best highly hypothetical. To be sure, there is little evidence about Caiaphas' life beyond the NT, and that is mainly from Josephus and some rabbinic statements. Archaeological evidence is also regularly discussed. Caiaphas' becoming the son-in-law of Annas — another high priest mentioned four times in the NT — is especially relevant for the analysis of the status and the policy of Caiaphas during the activity of John the Baptist, Jesus of Nazareth, Paul, Stephen, and other followers of Jesus.

Chapter three (177-196) engages with the presentation of Caiaphas in Mark, which M. dates to about 70 CE. The way Caiaphas is presented stresses the Gospel's kerygmatic message. His role is that of an antagonist (*Gegenspieler*; 180-185). Much emphasis is laid here on the absence of Caiaphas' name in this Gospel, and in particular during the interrogation process. M. claims that much of what is reported here reflects the experience of the early followers of Jesus in their dealings with the temple authorities (189).

Chapter four (197-212) investigates the figure of Caiaphas in Matthew. While this Gospel mentions the high priest's name (Matt 26,3.57), the account is overshadowed by the shift of responsibility to the entire Jewish people at the end of the trial before Pilate (Matt 27,25). The overall picture here is influenced even more by the vicissitudes of the early Christian communities in their confrontations with the Pharisaic synagogues at the time this Gospel was written.

Chapter five (213-245) discusses both of Luke's works, the Gospel, and Acts. Caiaphas is referred to by his name at one point in the Gospel (Luke 3,2) but is not mentioned as being present during the examination of Jesus by the Sanhedrin. In Acts 4 Caiaphas is reportedly among those who forbid the apostles to preach. Even there, Caiaphas acts within his competence as chief of the temple priesthood and in concert with the family of Annas. Furthermore, the letter given to Paul the Pharisee by the high priest "Caiphas" in Acts 9,1-2 could not be an order for imprisonment. It was, rather, a recommendation for the synagogue in Damascus regarding certain procedures

to be adopted in respect to the rising Christian communities. More important, however, is Luke's stylization of the figure of Caiaphas as an indirect witness to the growing power of the Gospel (cf. Acts 5,28).

Chapter six (247-268) researches the figure of Caiaphas in John. More than in other Gospels, here Caiaphas is treated as a literary character representing the Jews who refused to accept the message of Jesus. As in Matthew, much of what it says about Caiaphas (and Annas) is a reading of the post-70 CE conflict, namely, when Christians saw themselves definitely excluded from the synagogues. The negative representation of the high priests in the Fourth Gospel is aimed at highlighting the contrast of their refusal with the saving plan of God.

Chapter seven (269-374) surveys the transmission history (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of the figure of Caiaphas. It starts from the apocryphal and pseudopigraphical early Christian and non-Christian literature, and continues through writers and poets from different epochs and countries, including Christian theologians, dramas, and films. This information is supplied by the 22 Tables at the end of the book. These offer reconstructions of Jerusalem and of the temple, of the high priest's vestments, the ossuary of Caiaphas, and several artistic works, most of which represent Jesus' examination before Caiaphas.

Chapter eight (375-407) gives a summary of the results reached in the previous chapters. It then considers other factors that might have led early Christian authors to view Caiaphas negatively. Among these, M. points to the destruction of the temple and to the criticism and loss of interest in the sacrificial cult, on the part of the Christians. Other factors mentioned are Caiaphas' supposed collaboration with Pilate, his politicization of religion, nepotism, and corruption in temple affairs.

In conclusion, "Josef Kaiphas war ein Mann mit einem klaren politischen, religiösen und moralischen Profil" (406). This review is a small window into the many treasures contained in this volume. As far as this reviewer can judge, the present work gathers all, or almost all, of the available relevant literary and non-literary evidence on Caiaphas. As with many interdisciplinary studies, it draws on the evaluation of different sources and tries to establish possible relationships among them. Many of the results achieved, however, are based primarily on a synchronic approach to these sources. On the one hand, the socio-religious and/or cultural interpretation of the NT and other ancient sources, which is mostly followed here, unveils many new important and interesting aspects regarding the figure of Caiaphas. Much of what is written about Caiaphas, Annas, and the Sanhedrin actually reflects the ongoing conflict between the followers of Jesus and other Jews, a conflict leading to the final split between Christianity and Judaism. Accordingly, M. questions the historicity of many NT passages. One drawback is a certain lack of consistency in adopting a diachronic approach. Thus, an inconsistent recourse to proper source-critical analysis emerges now and then. Notwithstanding, M. has come up with some challenging results. Many, but

not all, of his conclusions coincide with those of H.K. Bond, and M. raises many new questions and makes many new observations. For these and other reasons, scholars and students of the history of the Jewish high priesthood, the Jewish trial narratives in the NT, the historical Jesus, as well as first-century Christianity and Judaism, will have to give serious consideration to this rich study.

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GABATI KIBETI Gabriel, *La relation avec le Père comme don*. Aspects théologiques, christologiques et éthiques des références à Dieu Père en Mt 5-7 (Analecta Biblica 194; Gregorian & Biblical Press, Roma 2010, pp. 337).

LESTANG François, *Annonce et accueil de l'évangile*. Les figures individuelles de croyants dans le deuxième voyage missionnaire de Paul (Ac 16,6-18,18) ([pubblicato in proprio], Romae 2012, pp. 271).

NALPATHILCHIRA Joseph, *"Everything is Ready; Come to the Marriage Banquet"*. The Parable of the Royal Marriage Banquet (Mat 22,1-14) in the Context of Matthew's Gospel (Analecta Biblica 196; Gregorian & Biblical Press, Roma 2010, pp. 420).

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